

THE ZOIST.

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I. Capital Punishment ; or, Killing according to Law.

RECENT events again force upon our consideration one of the great questions of the day—capital punishment. We have so frequently presented our views on this subject, that we are conscious we have but little to advance which can be considered new ; but several cases have occurred within a short period, which clearly prove how little the majority of individuals understand the laws which govern the human organism, and, consequently, how ignorant they remain of the treatment to which that organism should be subjected, when labouring under positive disease.

During the last few months, the gibbet has been frequently erected, and the miserable specimens of humanity which have dangled therefrom, proclaim in language most clear and distinct, that the cause of man's actions is not understood, and that our rulers, our legislators, and our judges continue to enforce and to defend a course of procedure, which experience proves to be unavailing, and which science long ago denounced as being, not only useless, but unjust. With a few exceptions, we have ceased to be influenced by thoughts, the produce of an age when men were strung up, *fourteen* in a row, for the most trivial offences,—an age when the punishment inflicted clearly led to the supposition, that a horse and a sheep were of the same value as the life of a man, public strangulation being the penalty inflicted for stealing the former and cutting the throat of the latter. These were the doings of a period which now happily belongs to history, for after years of philanthropic efforts on the part of the great men who have been removed from amongst us, the punishment of death may be considered as reserved for the crime of murder only. Since 1841, there has not been an execution for any other crime.

The Criminal Law Commissioners, in their last report, express their opinion, "that the right even of the legislature to inflict capital punishment rests on the ground of strict and cogent necessity, and that to go beyond this involved a transgression which was criminal in the legislature."

Is, then, the punishment of death necessary? If we are told that it is necessary, does experience prove that the judicial death of one man prevents others from committing crime? Out of 167 persons, who had been executed during a certain period, it was proved on the most unquestionable testimony that 164 had been present at executions; and the ordinaries of Newgate affirm, that it is very rarely that any one suffers at the Old Bailey, who has not previously been a witness at a similar scene. So much, then, for the supposition that example prevents the commission of crime. This, however, is not the portion of the question to which we are anxious to direct the attention of our readers,—they will find these matters discussed in former numbers of this Journal.* There is one argument which does not legitimately belong to our pages, but, since it is constantly brought forward, deserves a passing remark. Whenever the question of capital punishment is discussed on philosophical or moral grounds, the advocate for the abolition of the punishment is met by the quotation, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." As a specimen of the line of argument pursued by individuals who think that this quotation from the Mosaic law is a sufficient authority, we present the following extract from a sermon preached by the Dean of Exeter, in the cathedral of that city, on the 25th of April, 1849:—

"Doubtless it ought not only to make us pause before we condemn a fellow-man to death, but to be well assured that we have God's warrant for what we do. I hold it for a most certain truth, that we have not this warrant, except only in the instance of actual murder, and, perhaps, in cases involving the guilt of murder, such, for example, as overt acts of treason; and that human legislatures have no authority from God—however largely they may have assumed it—to take the life of any human being, for the sake of protecting all the property of all the whole world: and I thank God that our statute-book is no longer polluted and disgraced by those sanguinary laws which inflicted the full penalty of death on offences for which a short imprisonment would now be regarded as an adequate punishment. But, whilst I say this, I am so far from giving in to that

* No. I., pp. 50-4, by Dr. Elliotson; No. II., pp. 101-110, by L. E. G. E.; p. 140, by Dr. E.; No. VII., pp. 295-316, by L. E. G. E.; No. VIII., pp. 443, 449-455, by Dr. E.; No. X., pp. 134-8, by Dr. E.; No. XI., pp. 275-281, by Dr. E. See also Dr. Elliotson's arguments in his Tract upon Courvoisier, published by Hilly, Fleet Street.

spurious sentimentality, which, under the garb and pretext of religion, would shelter a murderer from capital punishment, that I affirm it to be one of the clearest and strongest of our religious duties to pursue such an one to death! that, however we may recoil from the performance of the duty, when the commission of the crime has been fully proved, we must not spare the offender for any human consideration, or even through dread of the second death, which may await him hereafter. God Himself has laid on us His positive command, 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man;' and it is our part to execute the doom, and to leave the final issue in His hands.

"But, it is asked, are we, then, to cut him off in the midst of his sins? *Yes, inexorably.* '*Let not thine eye pity him, or spare him.*' He has cut off another in the midst of his sins; and it is God, not man, who has pronounced his doom, and commands us to fulfil it. We, in executing it, are but His instruments, the accomplices of His will: and whenever His will is fully and unequivocally declared, all that we have to do is to obey it."

As we have already said, this is not the place to discuss the question on theological grounds; but, since we believe that the teachers of religion are the great opponents of the abolition of capital punishment, we cannot avoid remarking that, if the sixth verse of the ninth chapter of Genesis is the only authority which can be produced for the infliction of capital punishment, in our opinion the position assumed is not tenable for one moment. There is no authority for capital punishment in the New Testament. On the contrary, the whole tenor of the moral code there developed leads us to form the opposite conclusion. There is not a single passage in the new law which can by any system of interpretation be considered as authorizing the infliction of this punishment. Notwithstanding this, which we hold to be clear and distinct, to the question, "Are we then to cut him off in the midst of his sins?" The Dean of Exeter answers, "*YES, INEXORABLY.*" "*LET NOT THINE EYE PITY HIM, OR SPARE HIM.*" In the most perfect good faith we ask, whether these are the opinions which should be promulgated by one whose life is devoted to the enunciation of a code of morals which clearly inculcates the abhorrence of revenge, and the encouragement of repentance? "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also."

To our view, then, it is a monstrous perversion of principle for Christians to advocate the justice of death punishment. The annihilating and ruthless wishes of the Dean were soon gratified, for a very few days after he preached this sermon

the following dreadful scene occurred within a few miles of his residence. We can scarcely believe, for we must presume that he possesses the ordinary attributes of humanity, but that his eye *did express pity* when he perused details which most assuredly caused the majority of individuals to recoil with pity, indignation, and disgust.

"EXECUTION OF SARAH HARRIET THOMAS, FOR MURDER.

"Yesterday this wretched criminal underwent the extreme sentence of the law at Bristol.

"The spectacle of a public execution—the first after a lapse of fourteen years—attracted an immense concourse of spectators, many of whom conducted themselves with that disgusting levity too often witnessed beneath the very shadow of the gallows. The ceremony was rendered intensely painful by the tenacity with which the unhappy criminal clung to life. No prayers nor entreaties could induce her to walk a step towards the fatal drop, *and she had literally to be dragged from her cell, shrieking frantically, and struggling all the time, until she was carried to the platform*, and handed to Calcraft the hangman, who at once fastened the fatal noose. She exclaimed, 'Lord, have mercy upon me. I hope my mother and none of them are here ;' and she was almost instantly cast off, and in a few moments was dead."

It was stated that the usual disgraceful scenes were witnessed at the execution. The mob was occupied till the clock struck the fatal hour with all kinds "of fun and frolic." A local paper states that the behaviour of the mob "was characterized by that levity and excitement which always characterizes large crowds assembled on such an occasion." Whether her relations were present we have not been able to ascertain. Her sister, the day before the execution, asked a neighbour whether "she was going to see Sal hung?" And the mother went to a shop the day before the execution, and purchased some cakes, and told the shopkeeper that they were for the girl "who was to be hung to-morrow !"

The following case is interesting and instructive in another way, and is the one to which we wish to draw attention.

"THE BIRMINGHAM MURDER CASE.

"Matthew Davies was next placed at the bar, charged with the wilful murder of his wife, Mary Davies, at Birmingham, on the 13th of October last.

"Elizabeth Yarnold : I am a char-woman living in Birmingham ; was acquainted with the deceased Mary Davies. She was the wife of the prisoner ; he kept a public house and eating house in Moor Street ; I have occasionally been employed to work there ; was there on the 13th October last ; before then I had known quarrels between the prisoner and his wife ; they were in the back kitchen ; she was wash-

ing her hands with soap and flannel; he was peeling potatoes on a dish which stood upon the floor; he had a knife in his hand. I heard him say something to his wife—he was begging her not to go before the magistrates against him; he said, ‘if you don’t go I will be tidy, Mary—such d——d nonsense.’ She said, ‘I will go if God spares me;’ he said, ‘d—n your eyes, you shan’t go.’ Words of this kind took place some time. She once said she would give him a knock on the face if he did not go off with his nonsense. I saw him steel the knife five or six times; he rubbed it on a steel; he stood on her left side, and put his right arm round her neck, having the knife in his hand, as if he was going to kiss her; she was washing her hands; I heard him say, ‘D—n you, you shall go,’ and I immediately saw the blood gush from her throat; I ran down the entry and hooted, ‘Murder!—he’s cut her throat.’ I returned, and met deceased with her hand to her throat, and the blood gushing through her fingers. There had been no struggle between them previously. She ran the space of three or four yards, and then fell on her left side; I stood close by where she fell, and saw the large wound in her throat afterwards. Mr. Macpherson was sent for, but I believe she was dead when he arrived; she lived about five minutes. The prisoner went and stood with his back towards the kitchen fire, with his hands in his trowser’s pockets; he remained there till the policeman came. A number of persons assembled directly I gave the alarm; he did not appear intoxicated; there was no appearance of excitement about him.

“Cross-examined: He sharpened his knife whilst he was peeling the potatoes; I did not see him cry that morning; she told me he had been crying that morning before I went; I saw him go down on his knees before he began peeling the potatoes; he was not crying when he was on his knees; he knelt to his wife; he did not shed tears when on his knees that morning; this was on a Tuesday; it was on the fair Friday that he cried; he attempted to kiss her, and it was then she threatened to give him a slap on his face; he stooped down over her; at the time I saw the blood come he put his arm round her neck the same as I had seen him before when he used to kiss her; after it was over he stood with his back to the fire as if nothing had occurred; he was in the back kitchen.

“Re-examined: It was the third time she had had him before the magistrates; he did not attempt to go away.

“By Mr. Macaulay: Mary Micheli.—I live next door to where deceased lived. I lived there for nine months before she died; I saw Davies frequently; I could see from overhead into the yard at the back, where there was a carpenter’s shop; the men used to mock him, and call him ‘mad Davies,’ and all the fools they could do; I have seen them throw rattle and rattle pots over him, out of the shop window. They used to call out, ‘who stole the chitlings?’ He said he never stole anything; he used to knock his own buckets and things about; that was what he used to do when the carpenters insulted him. We all said he was not in his right senses; I have met him in the entry, and he has said, ‘Good morning, Mrs. Micheli,’

when it has been evening; he would say, 'Excuse me, I didn't know.' I have seen his son strike him with a shoe; the prisoner did nothing but went down street. I have seen an effigy hanging from the carpenter's shop window, but I did not see prisoner about the place till it was taken down; he has complained to me about his head. I saw a woman throw a bucket of cold water over him, and he shook his coat and said, 'See how I'm used now.' He seemed very fond of his wife, if he could have his own way.

"Cross-examined: The carpenters overlook the yard; they are middle-aged men, and used to play tricks on the prisoner. I have seen him have a sup of drink frequently; they mostly insulted him when he was drunk. He used to brew his own beer, and was master of the place.

"George Andrews: I am in the employ of Mr. Cassera, and have occasionally taken meals at Davies'. In June last I saw prisoner, who seemed very wild in his looks; but I should say he had not had beer. It was a fine morning, but he said it would soon be cloudy, though there was no appearance of clouds. I have seen him grinning and gnashing his teeth, and clenching his fists; he occasionally got up for a second or so, and then sat down.

"By a juryman: I do not think he was drunk.

"Examination continued,—I remember a man of the name of Dunifer coming in on one occasion, and prisoner told him to turn all his customers out, and gave him a note, and said he (Dunifer) was master of the premises.

"The foreman of the Jury: We think he is going too much upon 'I believe,' and 'I think.'

"Mr. Wilmore said he would notice that in his cross-examination.

"Examination continued,—I once saw him throw a piece of beef, I should think about 30lbs. weight, dish and all, into the dust-hole. I thought him quite sober, but he appeared very much irritated from the twitching of his eyes and the grinding of his teeth. From his general conduct he appeared to me to be a man that was insane. On the 4th of June I thought him totally insane, and made a memorandum of it in a book. He once jumped up and said he would knock a hole through the back of the grate, which he struck with his fist, and knocked the back part of his hand all to pieces; no one had said anything to him; he had been sleeping before. Upon several occasions he broke the glasses by throwing them on the floor. I once asked him why he did it. He replied, 'What's that to you?' I have heard him speak of some person and his wife; there has been no reason for such observations. I have seen his wife strike him with the tongs and him try to get away from her.

"Cross-examined: I have seen prisoner's wife quarrel with him. She has told me she has had him before the magistrates. I should say he was not drunk from not seeing him drink at the time I have described. I have seen him drunk. I have told deceased she ought to have somebody to look after him.

"Charles Salisbury, shoemaker, of Birmingham: I have known the prisoner for three years, and noticed alterations in his demeanour

and appearance. I have had interviews with him two or three times a week. I have noticed alterations in him more than two years; they have appeared to increase. I remember his coming to me once in his shirt sleeves; I live a mile from him. I do not think he was drunk, but he could not make himself intelligible. He came to me and wanted to see his son who worked for me. I wished to know why he wished to see him. He talked in so confused a manner that all I could gather was that he had some complaint to make against his son's work, I had made no complaint, and would not call him down. He became so noisy, that I thought it advisable to get him away; it was about this time two years. The children and neighbours seemed alarmed, and I asked him to go to a beer house to get him away; but he talked so loud among the customers that I took him into the yard, where he became more excited, and I had to follow him up and down the yard to try to appease him. When we had had a pint of beer I prevailed upon him to go home. He did not appear at the time in the possession of his reason. I consider him a man of mild disposition. I have observed him shake his head, and heard him complain of it; I have seen twitching of the eyes and drawing of the mouth more frequently than I have heard him complain.

"James Dunifer, a bailiff: I remember the morning of the 4th of June last, he appeared to me perfectly sober: he said he had been walking about the street all night; he signed a paper to deliver his goods up to me: it was drawn up by Mr. Hall, the lawyer. I put two men in possession, and turned the customers out by his order. He was greatly excited, and towards evening, with the assistance of the men, I got him in a top attic; I nailed the window down, for he was going to jump through it he said. He never went to bed all night. I never allowed him any drink from the time I was in possession. He walked about all night raving; his noise brought a constable to the house. The next morning I withdrew possession: Mrs. Davies paid another party for possession.

"Cross-examined: None of my men are here. I have been a bailiff on my own head for thirteen years. I took possession on the prisoner's authority. He was jealous of his wife. The auctioneer got catalogues out, and he paid me.

"John Griffiths: I have known the prisoner two years and a half, and have been in the habit of frequently going to his house. Have seen him challenge his best customers to fight, without any provocation, and kick the glass out of his windows, and knock his screen and other things about, till his hands were swollen nearly double their size. I have heard him say he received a blow from a special constable's staff at Newton, in Montgomeryshire, and had never been right since. I have seen the constable who struck him; he is since dead.

"Elizabeth Hughes: I have lived with prisoner and his wife at Newtown and also at Birmingham, and have heard him complain of the blow on his head. I recollect his going out one day with Mrs. Davies to pay the rent; when he came back he laid down on the

screen, and his head began to shake at a very fast rate, and we applied vinegar and water. There had been no quarrel. He said, 'oh, my head,' twice over. He said, 'hush, hush,' when there was no one speaking, and put his hands to his ears. I thought he always seemed fond of his wife. I have seen her violent with him, and then he has put his hand round her neck and tried to coax and kiss her; this I have often seen. At Christmas he threatened to set fire to the house. We were obliged to have a man to watch over him from Saturday to Sunday mid-day, when the man took him a walk, and he seemed better. One frosty night he uncovered the potatoes in the garden, and when told of it the next morning, he said he knew nothing about it. He has a very bad memory, his customers could deceive him in any way; I am sorry to say he was not competent to conduct the affairs of a public house. On one occasion he broke his watch all to pieces, and the next morning he said he knew nothing about it.

"Cross-examined: He would revenge himself in drink when he quarrelled with his wife; when she struck him he would run away and sit down. I have seen her take the broom to him, and strike him with the tongs. I think she tempted him to break the peace in order to have him bound over.

"Mr. Thomas Birt, surgeon, of Leamington, said he had had experience from private practice, and from being senior assistant for twelve months in a private lunatic asylum, in cases of lunacy. Had examined the prisoner's head; he appeared to have had a severe blow on the left side of the back part of it. A blow of that description might affect the brain. A blow might be the predisposing cause of insanity, which might take place from other exciting causes; the grinding of the teeth was a particular evidence of an affection of the brain; have known repeated instances of suicidal attacks by lunatics during paroxysms, and one homicidal attack, for it was made on myself. From the prisoner's apathy after the act I think that he must have been unconscious of the extent and nature of what he had previously committed. It cannot, in my opinion, be explained upon any other ground than insanity.

"Dr. Hanson, a physician, practising at Leamington, had had experience in cases of insanity in the Hanwell Lunatic Asylum. If there is a predisposition to insanity it is likely to be increased by violent or irritating treatment, or, on the contrary, lessened by soothing treatment; I agree with Mr. Birt, and I have observed the skulls of some of the lunatics at Hanwell of similar construction to that of the prisoner—of a suicidal or *felo-de-se* tendency; the structure of the head indicates a predisposition to insanity. Similar apathy to that shewn by the prisoner after he had committed the act has been carried out since he has been in custody.

"Cross-examined: I infer that he was in a paroxysm when the catastrophe occurred; numbness of the brain and vague listlessness would succeed; they return from the active to the passive state in a surprizingly short period of time.

"After about five minutes' consideration, the jury requested to

retire, and a quarter of an hour after they returned into court with a verdict of GUILTY.

"His LORDSHIP having put on the black cap, proceeded, amidst profound silence, to pass sentence upon the prisoner. In addressing him he said the prisoner had been convicted of a most horrid murder, namely, cutting the throat of his wife, and the way in which he had done it showed that at the time he did it he was well aware what he was about, and his violent temper and irregular habits clearly proved that there was no foundation in the defence which had been set up in his behalf. The offence of the prisoner was one of the very few which the laws of the country visited with death, which he had no power of mitigating in this instance, nor would he be justified in holding out the slightest hope of the kind from any other quarter; he would do well therefore to prepare himself for suffering that punishment at the end of a very short time. Though mercy was not to be expected in this world, yet in a quarter where it was incomparably more superior, it was not to be despaired of, and he must therefore prepare for that fate which all expected, and which would be his in a very short time indeed. His crime was one of a most atrocious character; he had put his arm round the neck of his wife under pretence of kissing her, and had taken that opportunity of inflicting a horrid gash in her throat, which needed only to be described to induce the utmost horror at his conduct. Those men who had *no control over their passions*, and indulged in intemperate habits, as it had been proved to have been the case with the prisoner, were most likely to produce outrages such as the prisoner had been guilty of. There was *not any provocation* to the prisoner unless he had been *inwardly* evil disposed. He would not dwell further, and there was no occasion in that audience to press upon them that what the prisoner had done was not only prohibited by law, but was a crime at which human nature recoiled.—His LORDSHIP then passed sentence in the usual way.

"The prisoner received his sentence without any perceptible emotion, and walked with a firm step from the dock.

"The Court was densely crowded throughout the trial, which ended about half-past four o'clock."

Mr. Overell acted as the poor man's attorney, and not only did his duty without fee or reward, but immediately after the trial forwarded a memorial to Sir George Grey, pointing out the principal features of the case, and proving most clearly and satisfactorily that the man was subject to attacks of insanity.

We make the following extracts from this memorial. After describing the nature of the case and quoting the opinions of medical authorities, Mr. Overell says,—

"To the above extracts, which well describe the nature of the unfortunate prisoner's case, permit me to make reference to the evidence on the trial, which elicited the following facts:—that his friends and neighbours (many of whom were examined as witnesses) proved that he was always regarded as not being right in his head; that he

went by the name of 'Mad Davies,' and one witness was so convinced of his being insane, that he made a memorandum of some insane act, expecting to be called to prove it at a future day ; that on many occasions he acted in the strangest manner ; that he was subject to fits ; that when there was perfect stillness in the house, he has started up, and exclaimed, 'Hush ! don't make that noise ;' that he was continually in the habit of complaining of strange sensations in his head, and that he feared he should lose his senses ; that he has been subject to fall into a state of comatose sleep for hours at a time ; that on more than one occasion he has been extremely violent, threatening to set fire to the house, to break in the ale and beer barrels, and otherwise behave so outrageously that it was found necessary to put him under restraint and confine him to his room, where he paced up and down the whole night, and would have leapt from the window had he not been prevented ; that he broke his watch to pieces, and afterwards could not be persuaded that he had done so. These acts of violence, which might be greatly multiplied, but which is deemed unnecessary, were most positively proved by the witnesses not to have been the effects of intoxication. His appearance too was evidently that of a man of weak mind, crying like a child, being treated by his wife, children, and neighbours as a child. He manifested other personal peculiarities usually concomitant with insanity, such as restlessness of the eye, spasmodic twitching of the nerves, gnashing and grinding of the teeth. At times he was incoherent in his talk, and, as is not unusual in such cases, when he was severely injured, manifested almost total insensibility to pain. Further, that he had sustained an injury from a heavy blow on the head, which acted as an irritant to a mind already visited by the dire affliction of lunacy by the dispensation of Almighty God.

"It is to be borne in mind that the case mainly rested upon the evidence of Elizabeth Yarnold, who, your memorialist is ready to prove, if necessary, by the evidence of two credible witnesses, had stated her determination to do all that she could, and would go barefoot, without bit or drop in her mouth, to get Davies hung, and that she hoped they would give him a good swing when they did it. Notwithstanding this animus against the prisoner, she distinctly swore that there was not the slightest appearance of excitement about him previous to or after the act ; and the opinion of Mr. Birt deduced from this fact, as stated above, cannot but have the greatest weight in determining and deciding the question.

"From these and other extenuating facts, it is confidently hoped you will arrive at the conclusion that this miserable man acted under a sudden and uncontrollable impulse, not of moral insanity alone, (which the law justly does not recognize as a palliative of crime,) but from the more irresponsible cause of intellectual aberration. And in visiting with an extreme penalty crimes committed without full and undoubted responsibility, justice becomes vindictive, and firmness merges into cruelty.

"Though fully aware that you, honoured Sir, (as testified by your public acts,) can act no otherwise than on the high ground

which public duty demands, your memorialist cannot refrain from suggesting that it is a fearful responsibility to be entrusted with the life of a fellow-creature; one little word between life and death, and that word of recommendation to Her Majesty's mercy optional for you to speak.

"Your memorialist in conclusion desires to disclaim being misled by any undue feeling of sentimentality or hostility to the principle of capital punishments, but begs strongly as a matter of right to bring under your notice that this is a case in which the law does not discriminate those nicer shades, for giving value to which, it has placed in the hands of Her Majesty the blessed prerogative of mercy.

"May it therefore please you, honoured Sir, to recommend to our most gracious Sovereign to extend her royal clemency to this unfortunate man.

"WILLIAM OVERELL."

Mr. Overell sent a copy of the memorial to Dr. Elliotson, who immediately communicated with Mr. Ewart. The following are Mr. Ewart's notes to Dr. Elliotson.

"6, Cambridge Square,

"April 13.

"My dear Sir,—I am obliged to you for the enclosed. The evidence makes out a strong case of insanity. As you wish for the papers soon, I return them at once. Otherwise I should have taken them with me to the House of Commons.

"I have spoken twice to Sir George Grey on this case. I will not fail to take further measures.

"Yours truly,

"WM. EWART.

"Dr. Elliotson."

"House of Commons,

"Thursday evening.

"My dear Sir,—I have appealed in vain to Sir George Grey, publicly and privately. He says the judge has been again referred to; that he answers that the jury found that the prisoner was *compos mentis*; and that he cannot (after this) recall the decision of the jury and the sentence of the judge. I am very sorry indeed. But I can do no more.

"Yours truly,

"WM. EWART.

"Dr. Elliotson."

"My dear Sir,—I casually omitted to return this letter with the others. I suppose it is now all over with the object of your humane interposition: the 'law must take its course.' Why could not the Crown interpose?

"Yours truly,

"WM. EWART.

"Dr. Elliotson."

The following is Sir George Grey's reply to Dr. Elliotson's application to him :—

" Home Office,

" April 12, 1849.

" Sir,—I am directed by Sir George Grey to inform you with reference to your letter of the 5th inst., on behalf of M. Davies, a prisoner under sentence of death for murder, that Sir George Grey has delayed his reply until he had received the report of the judge, which only reached him this morning; and after an attentive consideration of the case, he feels it his painful duty to allow the law to take its course.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Yours most obediently,

" DENIS LE MARCHANT.

" Dr. Elliotson."

Notwithstanding the enlightened exertions of Mr. Overell, Dr. Elliotson, and Mr. Ewart,—Sir G. Grey, knowing nothing of the physiology of the brain, referred to the judge, Mr. Justice Maule, who appears to have been quite as ignorant, and because he could throw no light on the matter, and could only refer to the verdict returned by the twelve jurymen, the poor man, the victim of an insane impulse, was publicly strangled. How long is this state of matters to continue? How long is the voice of science to be disregarded, and the verdict of the unenlightened to seal the doom of an individual suffering from disease of the brain?

The following account of the execution is from a local paper :—

" EXECUTION OF DAVIES, FOR THE MURDER OF HIS WIFE.

" Yesterday (Friday), being the day appointed for the execution of Matthew Davies, convicted at the last Assizes, of having murdered his wife, Mary Davies, at Birmingham, on the 13th of October last, the town at an early hour began to present a bustling appearance, caused by the arrival of numerous parties from the towns and villages in the neighbourhood. It will be in the recollection of our readers that a plea of insanity was set up, and strongly supported by a number of witnesses. The jury, however, considered that the prisoner knew perfectly well what he was about at the time he committed the alleged crime, and therefore returned a verdict of guilty. In this verdict the learned judge (Baron Maule) fully concurred, and, in passing sentence, held out not the slightest hope of mercy towards the prisoner. Subsequently a memorial was got up at Birmingham, and another at Leamington, addressed to the Home Secretary, praying for a commutation of the sentence. Sir George Grey, however, saw nothing in the argument urged by the memorialists to justify him in recommending Her Majesty to extend the prerogative the

Crown possesses to the prisoner; the unhappy man was consequently subjected to the extreme penalty of the law. From the time of his committal to the period of his being escorted to the scaffold, he displayed the same apathy and apparent want of consciousness at the awful position in which he was placed, as that which followed immediately after the deed he had committed, excepting on Thursday afternoon, when his three children were brought up by Mr. Silk, victualler, of Birmingham. The age of the eldest is 19, the second 9, and the third about 7. The first displayed a great want of feeling, whilst the two younger ones, from the tenderness of their age, were hardly conscious of the position in which their unhappy parent stood. On the part of the latter the interview was affecting in the extreme, and it was thought advisable in less than ten minutes to separate the parties.—As the hour fixed for the execution approached, the front and precincts of the gaol became crowded to excess, and amongst the assemblage we regretted to see a great number of young females, apparently holding a respectable station in life—all anxiously pressing forward to see the degrading spectacle of a human being suspended in the air like a dog. By the law, as it at present stands, the very object the Legislature have in view is entirely defeated, for instead of operating upon the spectators as a warning against crime, we find, at execution after execution, incitements to its committal, which, were it not for the thousands who assemble to witness such disgusting spectacles, would not exist. Such was the case on the present occasion. A number of people of *both sexes*, and the most degraded of the human race, indulged in conduct the *most obscene and offensive*; others passed jokes, and another body amused themselves by playing at 'leap-frog,' and other gymnastic sports, until the time arrived for the man to ascend the scaffold!* About five minutes before twelve the bell commenced tolling, and a few minutes after that hour struck by the clock of St. Mary's, the melancholy

* We have detailed *scenes* of this kind in former numbers. "A large number," says Dr. Elliotson, "of those who read of, and still more of those who witness, an execution, feel more or less of a savage pleasure, and are injured in their moral feelings. The scene of an execution is one of disgust and dismay. Jokes, ribaldry, obscenity, drunkenness, and thefts go on; and the female portion are equally bad with the other sex. This is not peculiar to England. Two men convicted of arson, robbery, and murder, were executed not long ago at a small town in France called Berus. From twelve thousand to fifteen thousand persons collected. Booths were erected, tables spread, tuns of cider broached, and games set up; and the magistrates with gens d'armes and troops had difficulty in preventing still more scandalous proceedings. The young priest 'with much force, but mildness, endeavoured to bring the crowd to a state more suited to the scene.'"—No. I., p. 50.

"The London police could enumerate a few of the disgusting scenes which take place in the front of Newgate,—not confined, be it remembered, to the low, vulgar, and unrefined, but indulged in by those who pride themselves on their birth, station, and power. Seats at windows and on roofs are hired for the occasion,—thousands assemble at day-light to secure 'a good sight,'—the juvenile and the aged pickpocket are busied at their avocations,—the ribald jests and the low and vulgar slang of the uneducated are heard throughout the crowd, and even the reporters for the press ask for the last word, gaze to catch the last look, and lament their ill-luck if deprived of the opportunity to ascertain whether the poor

procession made its appearance, attended by Mr. Whately, the undersheriff; the Rev. Mr. Langhorne, chaplain to the gaol; Mr. Harry

wretch struggled much.* Others, who would be unable to witness the execution, obtain a private interview—visit the condemned cell—listen to the condemned sermon—and to render the sight more interesting and attractive, the prisoner upon a late occasion was dressed in his own apparel! Need we enumerate other instances of this depraved appetite? At Kirkdale, in the month of May last, there were two executions. A local paper thus describes the scene:—"The roads to and from the place of execution were densely crowded, and from the number of persons in vehicles of every description, it resembled a visit to the race course on some attractive occasion. The number present we have heard variously estimated at from 20 to 30,000." Some years ago our morbid curiosity prompted us to witness the execution of a young soldier for the murder of his superior officer. There were some extenuating circumstances, but into these it is not necessary to enter, we merely wish to direct attention to the proceedings at the moment. When the poor creature appeared upon the scaffold, the immense crowd, which had exhibited signs of considerable irritation, was instantly stilled,—the silence lasted during the whole of the sad preparations, and even when the drop fell nothing was heard but the suppressed shudder; and which, emanating from the assembled thousands, was very distinctly and impressively audible. The removal of the body was the signal for the concluding scene. The moment the hangman made his appearance he was assailed with the most terrific yells; hundreds of stones were thrown at him, and he was obliged to retreat as expeditiously as possible, protected by the officers, but assaulted with every missile which an enraged and disgusted mob could obtain. What then was gained by this procedure? In the cant of the day, 'offended justice was satisfied, and an example was afforded to evil doers and those who *allow* their passions to gain an ascendancy!' Our belief is that the executioner would have been seriously injured and perhaps murdered, if he had not been protected by the judicial officers. Here then were passions running riot at the foot of the scaffold, and on the spot where but one hour had elapsed since a fellow-creature had been sacrificed for the self-same crime, only differing in degree. Here not one or two, but hundreds, contended for the opportunity to inflict an injury and to *allow* their passions to gain an ascendancy. And yet we are told that it is necessary to continue the punishment of death for the sake of example,—that it is a warning and terror to all men, and that without it society could not be efficiently protected!"—No. II., p. 103.

"Judges and juries assemble at stated intervals, and pass through the usual monotonous routine, commencing their proceedings with prayer and thanksgiving, and terminating them by hanging one or more of their brethren. Senators and moralists sanction the course pursued, and the people still rush in thousands to witness the display of legalized destructiveness, with as much, if not more, avidity, than they formerly manifested to behold a bull-fight, or the struggles of the boxing-ring.

"The crowd at the execution was immense; it was wonderful to see what countless thousands were packed on the pavement, as far as the eye could reach, nothing but the heads of men and women could be seen. Occasionally a cry was made that a man, woman, or child was fainting, or being crushed to death; and if the individual was fortunate enough to have strength left, he or she was lifted up and allowed to walk to the extremities of the crowd on the shoulders of the people. At a very early hour, before five o'clock, persons began to take up a position in front of the drop, and before seven the crushing became excessive. *It was grievous to hear the language used by the spectators, and to observe the little effect the awful spectacle had on their minds. Many hats were thrown about the heads of the mob, which were destroyed, and great numbers had their clothes*

* "Owing to the pressure of a number of persons on the wooden bridge leading to the scaffold, we were unable to ascertain whether they struggled much, but we were subsequently informed that the struggles of the female were soon over, while those of the male were much more severe."—*Liverpool Chronicle*. What important and instructive information!

Adkins, the governor, and other officials. The unhappy man was placed underneath the beam, when the halter was adjusted round his neck, without his displaying the slightest emotion. The cap was then drawn over his face, and in two minutes after his coming on to the platform, the bolt was withdrawn, and the culprit was plunged into eternity. After hanging the usual time, the body was taken down and removed into the gaol, within the precincts of which it was interred the same evening."

A few years ago the writer of these remarks was consulted by a man occupying a respectable station in society, under the following circumstances. He stated that he enjoyed comparatively good health, but that he was very unhappy because he was prompted to destroy one of his children. This impulse to destroy generally seized him while sitting at

stripped off and were left almost naked. *The coarsest language was freely used, the ribald jest, followed by brutal language and rude laughter, might be heard on every side during the whole of the morning.* Soon after the criminal had dropped, the immense crowd burst in the middle. The greater portion having been standing for hours packed like herrings in a barrel, they were anxious to escape from their uncomfortable position, for the purpose of obtaining fresh air, and a great rush was made from the centre, opposite the drop; like a gun heavily charged and closely rammed, the explosion was tremendous and deadly. The greater portion of the doors of the houses were closed, and those who were crushed by the flow of the immense tide of human beings had no means of escape. The effect of the crush was the most fatal near Malin Hill, down which hundreds were hurled one on the top of the other. The consequence of this was that *twelve human beings were killed and more than one hundred received serious injuries.* *A scene at an execution at Nottingham, August, 1844.—The Yorkshireman.*

"Mark Sherwood was executed at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on the 23rd day of August, 1844. 'On arriving at the drop, he for a moment looked down on the mass that were assembled, there being upwards of 20,000 persons present.'

"At the execution of three men at Derby, a short time ago, there were 35,000 or 40,000 persons present. 'We were exceedingly sorry to observe placards in various parts of the town, announcing that the theatre would be opened at two o'clock, to accommodate the country people.'—*Derby Mercury.*

"At the execution of Crouch, a few months since, for the murder of his wife, we are informed by an eye-witness, that the game of pitch and toss was very general in the outskirts of the crowd. When the poor wretch appeared on the scaffold, a voice exclaimed, 'Keep up your pluck, my kiddy!'"—No. VII., p. 299.

"From Sunday afternoon until within an hour of the execution [of Ellison,] people were arriving at Bodmin from almost every quarter within 60 miles.—Helston, Penzance, Paul, and places near the land's end, and every vehicle that could be mustered seemed to have been in requisition to witness the death-struggles of a fellow-creature. Before and after the execution the main street of Bodmin was filled by one dense mass of human beings. *Twenty-five thousand* persons witnessed the execution. We were sorry to observe that perhaps one-half or more of the spectators were *females*. The majority of the vast multitude remained for the purpose of an afternoon's carousal or holiday pleasure. The public-houses were filled from the basement to the upper story, and in the streets, which were rendered almost impassable for hours, coarse jests and ribaldry were frequently heard proceeding from the crowd. Considerable numbers of standings were erected, with various juvenile amusements, and the town presented the appearance of a gay fair day.'"—No. XI., p. 275.

the head of his table at dinner, and it was so overpowering that he was accustomed to rush from the table and walk several miles into the country, returning after the lapse of two or three hours perfectly well. He could give no reason for the attacks. His health was not impaired—the attacks were not periodical, and there was no warning. Apparently the sight of the knife with which he was about to carve the joint of meat, was the stimulus which excited a portion of his brain to abnormal action. Here then we have an instance of an insane impulse produced without the slightest provocation.

A few weeks ago we were consulted by a female about 45 years of age, residing in a family in the capacity of nurse-maid. Without any very apparent cause she had suddenly become melancholic. She stated that she did not dare enter the dining room, if the preparations for dinner were made; for if she did, she heard a voice whispering in her ear, "Now is your time." She said that she felt "as if she must cut her own throat and also the throat of the child she was nursing." Here is an instance of an insane impulse, but, unlike the preceding case, prompting to self-destruction, as well as the destruction of another. No member of the family in which she resided had been made aware of these symptoms, but of course we took immediate steps to obtain her removal from her responsible situation.

Now, in the first case let us suppose an altercation (as in the case of M. Davies and his wife) taking place between the parent and the child at the dinner table, and the insane impulse, seizing the individual at the moment; is it not probable that under the increased excitement he would be unable to rush from the table, and that consequently he would sacrifice the life of his child? And, now, knowing the facts of the case, would any rational being say that this afflicted parent should be subjected to the penalties of a sentence pronounced *in consequence* of the verdict of twelve jurymen profoundly ignorant of human nature in a state of disease; and because they cannot understand the possibility of the occurrence, or the nature, of an insane impulse, that the judge and the Home Secretary are to take shelter under their verdict, and the diseased man be forthwith cast for execution? It is by reflecting over these extreme cases that we see the injustice and cruelty of the execution of M. Davies. The case which we have used as an illustration of a most distressing form of disease, is peculiar because it presents an example of a controllable insane impulse; but who can point out the limits of the restraining power? When the whole question

rests probably upon the amount of blood contained in, or the rapidity of circulation of blood through, a portion of cerebral matter, who shall say, *according to law*, where crime or insanity begins and ends? Who shall dare to say whether there was time for reflection? * And if there was, who shall say whether the impulse was not too powerful for the reasoning powers to control? We ask whether twelve jurymen are to be the judges upon such an intricate physiological question? Are the facts of science to be cast aside, and a judge's interpretation of our criminal law to be the sole arbiter of life and death? Mr. Justice Maule stated that at the time M. Davies committed the act "he was well aware what he was about." And suppose we grant this for the sake of argument—what then? Is not the fact well known to all those who devote their attention to the study of insanity, that an insane impulse may be perfectly uncontrollable, *as transitory as it is sudden*, and that during this period, "an act may be committed without one moment's reflection or premeditation, the individual being sometimes perfectly conscious of what he is doing, and sometimes apparently not at all so?"

But we do not rest the case of M. Davies on this line of argument alone. The brain of M. Davies was never in a healthy state. It appears from medical evidence that he had received a blow on his head. "He appeared to have had a severe blow on the left side of the back part of it." It was given in evidence that he had frequently fallen into a heavy sleep which lasted for hours,—that in the neighbourhood he was called "Mad Davies,"—that he had suffered from fits—that he had attempted to set fire to his house and to leap out of window. These acts were proved not to have been the effect of intoxication. His appearance was that of a man of weak mind. He was treated by his wife, children, and neighbours as a child; in fact, he was the butt of the neighbourhood. All these facts were given in evidence at the trial, and the view we take of his case was placed strongly before the judge and jury by respectable medical evidence. Is it not, therefore, manifest that M. Davies never exhibited the function of a healthy brain? From the evidence of Dr. Hanson it appears that the configuration was such as to lead him to conclude that there was a predisposition to insanity. However, apart from original conformation there were the marks of external violence. How frequently does insanity originate from an injury to the brain! If positive insanity is not produced, how frequently the character is changed, and the

* Dr. Elliotson has published in this journal, No. VIII., pp. 443-4, a striking case where there was not time, and yet the poor wretch was hanged.

individual rendered wayward and imbecile! In every large community there are many such unfortunate persons, and in every lunatic asylum there are cases where the attack of insanity may be clearly traced to an injury, and that injury probably inflicted a long time previous to the manifestation of the disease. Medical men know that patients will complain of pain in a particular spot of the head, and that on careful investigation they discover the marks of previous violence, which, till the patients' attention is directed to it, had completely escaped their recollection. Years may have elapsed, but diseased action commences in those predisposed thereto in the spot originally injured. Chronic inflammation may exist for some time as a result of the original injury, and some peculiarity of character become inordinately developed during this period, and then cease altogether under proper medical treatment. This is what we might expect *a priori* in the brain, even if we were not prepared with facts to bear us out in the statement, for it is exactly what we observe in other organs of the body.

In No. VIII., p. 450, there are some remarks by Dr. Elliotson on the case of Wm. Crouch, who was hanged for the murder of his wife. This unfortunate man was proved to have received two injuries in the head, and both of such a character as to lead his medical attendants to prognosticate that he would become the subject of mental derangement. After the first accident he became so altered as to be nicknamed "the *half-cracked* man:" and ultimately was regarded by all as "of *weak intellect*" and "*incapable of understanding*."*

* "A brain," says Dr. Elliotson, "so injured would be upset in its functions by a quantity of fermented or distilled liquids which in health might have been taken with no obvious detriment. I have had many patients who were furiously delirious on taking a single glass of gin, one furiously delirious from common rheumatism of the side of the head, because they had years before sustained a severe injury of the head. If the man was at all irresponsible before, he certainly must have been completely so immediately after alcoholic drink: and, if it is contended that he was not irresponsible before, no medical man could doubt his irresponsibility then. The judge, one of the soundest lawyers, I hear, and most humane man, of the many sound-lawyers and humane men now upon the bench, Baron Alderson, 'summed up the evidence, premising that, when a plea of insanity was set up in defence of a crime, it was necessary to shew that the insanity was produced by a form of disease contained involuntarily within the afflicted person, and not produced by the voluntary act of the individual. If a person by drinking deprived himself of his senses, and whilst in that state committed a crime, he could not plead the insanity of drunkenness in justification, because he voluntarily deprived himself of the power over his own actions. In the present case, the jury should consider whether it had been proved that the prisoner committed the act with which he was charged, whilst under the influence of excitement produced by disease of his brain, and not voluntarily from other causes. His lordship then read over the entire of the evidence, commenting upon such parts as tended to shew an aberration of the prisoner's mind, and observing that there was no proof of his having drank anything more than a pint of

When he committed the crime for which he was executed he was evidently labouring under disease of the brain. Six years ago the following case came under our notice :—

“G. W., 12 years old, received a blow on the temple from a cricket-ball, on the 5th day of April last. He was knocked down and remained insensible for several hours, but, from the poverty of his parents, medical advice was not requested. Three weeks after the receipt of the injury he was brought to me, and his mother related the following history. For several days after the injury, he remained dull and stupid, manifesting a great disinclination to exert himself, or even to join in the usual games of play with his brothers. Slight spasmodic twitchings of the leg and arm were noticed on the opposite side to that injured, and at the same period a daily and increasing change of character. Before the accident he was kind and affectionate in his manner, and particularly attentive to the commands and wishes of his parents, but now he is spiteful, revengeful, and perfectly reckless. He is now constantly quarrelling with his brothers and sisters, and does not attend to the orders of his parents. If he is requested to perform a duty, he is impertinent, and if checked in the least, he swears and uses the grossest language. He was never known to swear before the accident, but now, his mother says that

beer on the day of the murder. He also remarked that it was proved by the evidence for the prosecution that the prisoner was in a state of stupor both before and immediately after the commission of the deed.”

“How contrary to all medical science are these observations! The diseased condition of the man’s brain prevented him from possessing, or putting into practice, the wisdom of abstinence, so necessary to his welfare. His drinking was as venial as the murder.

“Instead of hanging this unfortunate fellow-creature, the Government should have him treated for chronic inflammation of his brain. He should be kept in repose and upon low diet, and leeches and other anti-inflammatory measures be steadily employed according to circumstances, till he is well: and then he should always be more or less looked after, because the morbid excitability once induced in the brain by a mechanical injury often lasts in some degree or other through a long life. I have known mischief take place at the very spot of an injury above thirty years after the accident. Persons, after an injury of the head, are seldom perfectly safe afterwards, unless they become rigid water-drinkers.

“I cannot bring myself to suppose that this patient will be executed for a deed resulting from the *chronic* inflammation of his brain. The punishment would be as unjustifiable as to hang a patient labouring under *acute* inflammation of his brain in fever for any fatal violence he may have committed upon his attendant: as irrational and cruel as to punish a courtier for tumbling over the queen in a fit of giddiness occasioned by a previous injury of his skull, or a boy whose stomach is diseased from a blow for vomiting over his mother.”

“* * * For some years past the surgeon has examined the brains of those executed at Newgate, and casts have been taken of their heads; but *neither cast nor anatomical examination was allowed in the present instance*. Posterity will remark that all this was so late as 1844.—*Zoist*.”

Was examination of the brain forbidden by Government lest the disease of it should have been proved?—*Zoist*.

For instances of insane murderous impulse, see No. I., pp. 44-5, with Baron Parke’s remarkable address; No. III., pp. 246, 247, 256; No. VIII., p. 443.—*Zoist*.

his language is very bad, and that he uses words which, till now, she supposed he had never heard. He is extremely mischievous. He destroys the furniture whenever he has the opportunity, and does not confine himself to these actions, but annoys his younger brothers and sisters by spitting at them, throwing water at them, and breaking their playthings. He was detected in an attempt to fire a quantity of chips in the cellar of his father's house. He has attempted self-destruction by tying a piece of rope round his neck and fastening it to a nail in the wall of the garden. He speaks of butchering the whole of his family with a mallet as soon as he can obtain the opportunity, and seems to enjoy the terror of his mother and his relations, when they become alarmed at the destructive nature of his actions.

"He complains of no pain in his head, and states that he is quite well. He answers questions during his interviews with me with the greatest composure and intelligence, but the moment he returns to his own house, and is left uncontrolled, his actions become violent in the extreme."*

We had lately an opportunity of ascertaining the state of this patient. He was working as a carpenter, and to a certain extent obtaining his own livelihood, but he was subject to fits of ungovernable passion, during which he threatened all those about him. His mother expressed her fears that some day she should hear that he had committed murder. Now, suppose this individual, ten or fifteen years hence, under some great provocation, or even without it, commits murder, can it be contended that he should be made responsible for his actions, and made to suffer the penalty of public strangulation? Nay more, suppose that under such circumstances it should be proved that, for the previous ten or fifteen years, his actions should have been of such a character as to lead his neighbours to consider him a sane man, will it be contended, in spite of the most positive medical testimony to the contrary, that the blow he received originally had not some effect in at last altering his character and giving rise to the abnormal irritation of brain?

From the attention bestowed by the judge and jury to the medical evidence in the cases of Crouch and Davies, it is manifest that medical opinions are not considered important, and any attempt to throw light on the causes which produce abnormal action of the brain, and thus frequently render the unfortunate patient for the time no longer capable of controlling his own actions, is considered a scientific intrusion, but of no value in the legal discussion which decides on the question of insanity. The parallel case of G. W., with the necessary medical observations to shew that Crouch was not

* See No. VIII., p. 454.

a subject for hanging, was forwarded by Dr. Elliotson to Sir James Graham, then Home Secretary, previously to the execution of Crouch. The receipt of it was simply acknowledged, and the man was hanged immediately afterwards. Of the 30,000 medical men in England we feel quite sure that it would be impossible to find two who would have sanctioned the execution.

In the cases we have been discussing, the Judge usually tells the jury that, "with regard to the plea of insanity, it is necessary to prove that the mind of the prisoner was in a diseased state at the time of committing the act." But how does this enlighten the jury in cases of insane impulse? How does this charge bear upon those cases where the act is committed without one moment's reflection or premeditation? The existence of such cases, and the attendant history do not necessarily come within the province of the lawyer, but to the medical man they are of daily occurrence; and yet when such cases are appealed to, and the most positive and respectable testimony is brought to bear on the particular case under decision, the opinion is considered of no weight,—the Home Secretary refers to the Judge, and the Judge refers to the verdict of the Jury; this verdict being returned, in nine cases out of ten, in accordance with the charge of the Judge himself, and by men who have never bestowed one thought on the subject previously to sitting in judgment on the case before them, and who most probably never heard of such a form of insanity as that which we know by the designation—insane impulse.

L. E. G. E.

* * This paper was received in June, but the press of mesmeric matter caused the postponement of its publication till now.—*Zoist*.

NOTE BY DR. ELLIOTSON.

In *The Times* of Nov. 14, Mr. Charles Dickens gave his testimony to the scene at the execution of the Mannings being the same as those above recorded. To prevent these disgusting and melancholy occurrences, it has been proposed to hang within the prison. But I hope this will never be endured by Englishmen. There is something too dark, too much like assassination,* too similar to the judicial murders by tyrants of past ages, whatever the number of witnesses present according to law, for Englishmen not to recoil from it. The trial is in open day, and the horrid punishment of killing should be performed in open day. We must have no killing within prison walls. Rather than this we should sub-

* In No. XI., p. 276, I said, "Private killing makes one think of assassination, and, leading to many feelings, would be intolerable." 1845.

mit to the brutal conduct of the crowds at executions. The argument that the humbler class would not believe that a condemned wealthy or great person had really been executed, I pass over.* To argue for private strangling because imprisonment and transportation are not witnessed by the public and yet are perfectly tolerated, is fruitless. Prisoners at home can be readily seen at all times by those who give a sufficient reason for the wish; we have the habeas corpus: and convicts in the colonies are actually in public there, known to all, and known of by all here who choose to enquire about them. After all the conduct of the populace is shewn to have no lasting effect. For the second day after the execution of the Mannings,—the Thursday, was the day appointed for a national thanksgiving to God for ceasing to send us *the cholera for our sins*: and not only were the places of worship crowded by all ranks, but the rogues and vagabonds, who must have formed the bulk of the vicious multitude at the execution, desisted, and spontaneously too, from their courses—*actually in forty-eight hours after their levity and brutality*.

“MANSION HOUSE.

“OBSERVANCE OF THE DAY OF THANKSGIVING IN THE CITY. —Yesterday, several females were brought before the Lord Mayor and Alderman Carden, charged, some of them, with having prowled at late hours about the neighbourhood of the Mansion-house, and refused to move on, and others with having threatened to break lamps and windows if they were not accommodated with places of repose. The poor houseless creatures having been severally disposed of,

“Alderman Carden observed, upon looking over the list of charges, that *not any of them had been entered on the police sheets as having occurred on the day of thanksgiving*.

“Mr. Hodgson, the superintendent of the City police, said he had to state a circumstance *unparalleled in the history of the force*. From nine o'clock on Thursday morning until nine at night there had not taken place in the streets a single case which called for the interference of the police. There did not appear within the whole compass of their jurisdiction a solitary instance of disorder or intemperance of any kind, and even in Petticoat Lane and its neighbourhood, which certainly comprehended the most riotous and troublesome persons in the City, there was not the slightest disposition to break through the solemn engagement to pay due observance to the day of thanksgiving. With respect to the Jews, the occasion was as strictly observed by them as by the most rigid Christians, so that the whole of the City police force might be said to have had a holiday.

* See Mr. Douglas Jerrold's exquisite use of this argument in No. XI., pp. 275-6.

"Alderman Carden said the account given by the superintendent exactly corresponded with what he had observed himself. Even Sunday in the City was not to be found so free from interruptions and irregularities as the day of thanksgiving had proved to be.

"The Lord Mayor said it was most remarkable that in the six divisions of the City police no case of complaint upon any subject had occurred, although the area was so extensive, and he considered it to be ominous of a tranquil and serviceable mayoralty.

"Michael Haydon and others of the most active officers of the force assured his lordship that they had been all taken by surprise at so sudden a change."—*Daily News*, Nov. 17.

But we must have done with killing according to law, whether within prison walls, or before a vicious populace.

"Iliacos intra muros peccatur, et extra."

Horat., Ep. i., 2, 16.

Capital punishment must be abolished. A Christian, though he be an inexorable Dean of Exeter, ought to shudder at the thought of abbreviating the term for a sinner's repentance one single moment. The longest life he ought to think not too long for repentance. Mrs. Manning was only just beginning to shew signs of softening when she was "inexorably" strangled, and, to use the language of the day, suddenly sent into the presence of her God.

II. "Second half-yearly Report of the Calcutta Mesmeric Hospital. From 1st March to 1st September, 1849." With a Letter published in the *Calcutta Star* from a Visitor to the Hospital; and a private letter from Dr. Esdaile to Dr. Elliotson. Communicated by Dr. Elliotson.

"To Sir H. M. ELLIOT, JAMES HUME, Esq., the Rev. Mr. LA CROIX, Dr. MARTIN, RAJAH KALI KRISHNA, RAJAH SUTT CHURN GHOSAL, RAJAH PERTAUB CHUNDER SING, BABOO RAMAPERSAUD ROY, Members of the Mesmeric Hospital Committee.

"Gentlemen,—I have the honor to present you with a summary of our proceedings during the last six months, which, it is hoped, will be sufficiently satisfactory to you and the subscribers to the hospital.

In the last six months have been performed.		Previous half year.
Severe operations	32	32
Mesmeric	31	31
Deaths	2	1
Miscellaneous minor operations..	362	278
Dispensary patients prescribed for	1068	455

Average monthly expense including 20 Rs. a month to the Lunatic Asylum	377	ditto ditto without allowance to Asylum. .. Rs.	285
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"The two deaths were caused by cholera and lock-jaw.

Among these operations are :—

One Scrotal Tumor, weighing .	96 lb.	patient's age	50
One ditto	85 lb.		60
One ditto	60 lb.		50
One ditto	64 lb.		30
One ditto	45 lb.		58
One ditto	40 lb.		28

"All of these cases have been discharged cured.

"Regarding the important point of ultimate mortality, our results are surely very striking and satisfactory, and well deserve the attention of the practical surgeons. In one hundred consecutive operations for scrotal tumors, from the size of a man's head, to 100 and odd lbs., there have been only five deaths; but in no instance has death been caused directly by the operation, or followed soon afterwards, but at the distance of many days or weeks, in consequence of lock-jaw, fever, cholera, and exhaustion of the system; from what may be called hospital diseases and accidents. I very much doubt whether an equal number of consecutive amputations of a joint of the fingers and toes (in all states of the constitution) could be performed in any hospital with a smaller mortality than five per cent. arising from accidents in the course of the cure.

"This has been going on here for a period of four years, WITH ALL THE REGULARITY OF A LAW OF NATURE, and yet the medical profession are kept in total ignorance of it by their journals, which dare not let the facts be known, because the editors had long ago, in presumptuous ignorance, declared the thing to be impossible. But Calcutta is not Timbuctoo: public opinion will soon compel them to let the truth be heard, and, in the mean time, men will know what to think of a cause that can only be propped up by concealment and the suppression of evidence.

"If any persons in Calcutta still affect to disbelieve in the reality of painless mesmeric operations, it must be because they prefer doubt to certainty, ignorance to knowledge, and are afraid of having their infallible judgments corrected by the evidence of their senses. They have been publicly invited to come and see for themselves, if they cannot or will not believe the testimony of others, and, if they do not choose to accept this invitation, they must excuse my taking any farther trouble about them. Our success in rendering persons

insensible to the severest torture seems to increase with practice, and I have still the satisfaction to report, that *no one has ever seen an injurious symptom to attend or follow the induction of the mesmeric trance for surgical purposes*. Hundreds of spectators in this town can testify to this, and I might cite a score of medical men by name who have witnessed my operations, and call upon them to say whether anything could be, in general, more satisfactory than what they saw, and whether they would not always infinitely prefer gaining their object by mesmerism, rather than by any known means, if they had their choice. This I generally have, (and so may all who will use the same means); and I trust, that you, gentlemen, and the public, will not think me obstinate and hobby-horsical in holding to that which has been proved to be the best, and in *resorting only to inferior and hazardous agents*, when the *higher and always safe power* has disappointed me. I should despise myself, if, out of mere pertinacity and wrong-headedness, I continued to induce the public to spend their money in support of an antiquated worn out system; once of some utility but now only a HOBBY of a few unpractical speculators. But unless I greatly deceive myself, *I am nothing, if not practical*; and, if any doubt exists among the public and medical profession in India of the SUPERIORITY OF MESMERISM OVER ALL DRUGS WHATEVER, AS A MEANS OF INDUCING INSENSIBILITY TO PAIN, *I shall be glad to demonstrate the fact by comparative operations to any extent that may be deemed conclusive*. But, even if mesmerism were superseded by some perfectly innocent drug for surgical purposes, it would still be of great service to the surgeons in *the medical treatment of surgical diseases*. For, by its aid, he will often be able to save his patients much pain and distress during their cure, and will frequently even be spared the painful necessity of lopping off the limbs and organs of his patients to save their lives. Although many persons have little or even no pain after the operation, others suffer severely after an interval: but it is often in our power to extinguish the pain in a few minutes by throwing them back into the trance, and, on waking the second time, they have usually forgotten their first waking, and subsequent suffering, as two members of the committee, Dr. Martin and the Rev. Mr. La Croix, witnessed in the course of last month.

"It not unfrequently happens also that a second operation is required for the removal of mortifying parts: in these cases, the patients are very readily again entranced, and are quite callous to the breaking up of new adhesions, and the cutting through of granulating flesh. Or extensive wounds

take on a tendency to *slough* or mortify, and under these circumstances spunging the surface of the sore with undiluted nitric acid is very effectual in stopping the disease. But the pain from this is so *horrible* when the sore is extensive, that one resorts to it with the greatest reluctance. Patients in this state, although in great pain, are usually very sensitive to the mesmeric influence, and in a few minutes the most extensive sore may be covered with the acid *without a sign of irritation in the whole body*, and, strange to say, the patient on waking is not only free from any feeling of burning in the part, but is relieved of the pain he was suffering from when he went to sleep. This singular result arises, I presume, from the complaining nerves of the surface having been effectually *killed* in the absence of consciousness, and, as dead nerves cannot tell tales, any more than dead men, the patient is as effectually relieved as a person who has had the nerve of his tooth burned with a red hot wire or nitric acid. Thence it occurred to me,—‘would not this be an effectual mode of preventing all re-action and pain in a wound after operation?’ I have had only one opportunity of making the experiment since the idea occurred, but that was most conclusive. A man who had a circle of troublesome excrescences, *circum anum*, had them leisurely pared off with a knife and snipped out with crooked scissors, and then nitric acid was applied to the bleeding circumference. The man did not awake till half an hour afterwards, and had *no pain* or burning in the part, *nor had he during his stay in the hospital*. The frequenters of our hospital are aware that mesmerism is often extemporaneously prescribed as the surest and *speediest* means of giving relief in many painful affections. The objection to the time it takes to affect the constitution at first, is altogether futile in the subsequent treatment. The debility of convalescence increases the susceptibility of the system, and, when mesmerism is resorted to for any disagreeable symptoms that may arise, it will usually be found that it becomes daily easier, till the mere regard of the mesmeriser is sufficient without moving a finger. The following are instances of the irresistible power we wield over the system when it has been once subdued. Being desirous to show a gentleman one day the invasion and progress of mesmeric sleep, I ordered one of the convalescent patients to be brought to us. He entered the room doubled up and pressing his hands upon his belly, complaining of severe colic, and, on being desired to sit in a chair, he begged to be excused, as he could not bear the sitting posture. Having persuaded him to sit down, he was entranced in two or three minutes ;

and, being soon after demesmerised, he awoke quite well and free from pain.

"On going to the hospital another day, I was informed that a patient who had been operated upon eight days ago had that morning been attacked with lock-jaw. I found him suffering also from general rigidity of the body, with severe convulsions occurring every few seconds, and his body was bent backwards into an arch. He was ordered to be mesmerised, and in ten minutes I pared off the unhealthy parts of the wound, and steeped the entire surface in nitric acid with the hope of extinguishing all local irritation. To all this he was quite insensible, and the jaw became relaxed; but the convulsions and rigidity were only moderated. Next day, the spasms had increased and chloroform was given to him, but only with the effect of making him delirious, and he died in the evening.

"The first dressing of extensive wounds is sometimes as painful as the original operation, and it is superfluous to say that we can generally, with little trouble, save the patient all the pain and irritation arising from this process.

"It has been said that *the curative powers of mesmerism will occasionally save the surgeon the painful necessity of performing dangerous operations upon his patients*, of which accept the following illustrations. When going round the lunatic asylum with Dr. Strong one day, I saw one of the patients with his hand in a *shocking state of disease*; it was thrice the natural size, undermined with ulcers all over, and the fingers were contracted and as immoveable as the claws of a dead bird: the disease was of a year's standing. It appeared to me that amputation would be necessary, and, Dr. Strong agreeing, the man was sent to my hospital to be entranced and operated upon. Dr. Webb also saw him, and was of the same opinion. But, luckily for the man, he was not easily subdued, and after a few days I remarked such an *improvement in his general appearance*, that I resolved to attempt to save his hand with the help of mesmerism. The *sinuses* were laid upon, and he was mesmerised both locally and generally for an hour daily. The hand rapidly improved, and at the end of six weeks he was sent back to Dr. Strong's hospital with his hand of its natural size, possessing some power of moving the fingers, and perfectly *sane*. He was immediately discharged as cured by Dr. Strong.

"On the 3rd of August, a Brahmin came to the hospital with a *strangulated rupture*, attended with the usual pain, constipation, and vomiting: the gut had been down for twenty-four hours. I exhausted myself in vain endeavours to make

it return, and then, desiring him to be entranced, if possible, I left the hospital, bidding them send for me if they succeeded. Hearing nothing more of him that day, I went next day to the hospital, fearing to be obliged to operate upon him, but was relieved by being told that he had been *entranced within an hour, that the bowel then went up of itself without awaking him*, and that, having slept for an hour afterwards, he then got up, relieved himself, and went home quite well.

"This is the *third case of the kind* that has occurred, and is readily explained by the complete relaxation of the abdominal muscles in the trance, by which the cavity of the abdomen is restored to its natural dimensions, and room made for the protruded bowel to return.

"It must be evident to every one whose mind is not *cast in the most contracted mould or petrified by routine*, that so powerful and benignant an agent in the treatment of surgical diseases must be equally efficacious in curing or relieving many diseases within the province of the physician, unless we suppose mankind to have a distinct surgical and medical constitution. The power of modifying with safety the human system, and of introducing new movements into it opposed to the continuance of diseased action, is the essential requisite in every remedy; and where shall we find an agent capable of modifying innocuously the nervous system (the main-spring of life) to the same extent as is done by mesmerism? If asked,—'what single power do you covet most for the cure of disease?' I should reply,—'enable me to extinguish pain and to put people to sleep as long as is desirable, without any of the subsequent bad effects of narcotic drugs, and *I will engage to cure a great variety of complaints by this agency alone.*'

"It must be evident, that, if the restorative powers of life are not exhausted, they will act with vigour in the absence of all pain and irritation, and that the diseased influence under such a state of things would be often thrown off by the unaided conservative efforts of nature. *Wonderful to say, this greatly desiderated and almost un hoped for curative agent, not only exists in nature, but is an essential element of the human constitution (varying in different persons, of course, like all other bodily and mental gifts,) and most persons possess the power of curing others, or of being themselves cured occasionally by an inherent sanative influence propagable between different individuals; for health is transmissible as well as disease, it appears.* So remarkable is the susceptibility of the natives of this country to the mesmeric influence, that I could with considerable confidence undertake to bring ninety

out of a hundred patients in any hospital in Calcutta under our control, in the course of 15 or 20 days, and a new source of health and comfort might thus be afforded to the inmates of our general hospitals. Hereupon certain persons will raise a cry that—'He wishes to throw the accumulated experience of ages, as well as physic, to the dogs, and to rely upon mesmerism exclusively as the *Universal Medicine*.' Yet these *reckless misrepresenters* well know that *they* are the advocates of an exclusive system of medicine, and pretend to final knowledge, while my sole object has been to *unite* and *not to dissociate* mesmerism from medicine, and that my constant aim has been to add this new healing knowledge to what we already possess, being painfully oppressed with a sense of the *miserable impotency of our present resources in combating the host of evils that human flesh is heir to*.

"The following are a few examples of the unaided power of mesmerism in subduing or relieving diseases which often baffle the skill of the most experienced physician.

"Sreenath Sen, aged 30, looks 50; came to the hospital crawling along with the help of a pole: his feet were permanently turned out at right angles, and could not be moved inwards: all his joints were stiff and ached, and he looked more like a decrepid ourang outang than a man. He had suffered from rheumatism for the last six years, and for two years had been in his present state. After fifteen days' mesmerising, he began to improve, and at the end of two months his feet had resumed their natural position and freedom of motion; all his other aches had disappeared and he left the hospital walking freely and alertly.

"Lunkoo, aged 35, has had the shaking palsy for a year, being the sequel of a severe fever. He cannot stand without support on both sides; his body shakes continually; the hands are half closed and cannot be shut or opened farther; he can only raise his hands half way to his head, and his speech is nearly inarticulate. He can now, at the end of two months, walk after a fashion with the help of a stick, shut and open his hands forcibly, and raise his arms to the natural extent above his head; he speaks much better and the shaking of his body is much diminished.

"I do not expect to cure this man, but I am confident physic would have done him no good. Palsy arising from old age or organic disease is of course as incurable by mesmerism as by every thing else, but there seems to be some excitability left in this man's nervous system, and it may be still farther roused by the mesmeric stimulus.

"Sheik Bucksh, aged 40, complaining of pain in the head

(*neuralgia or tic douloureux*) for two months, was dismissed cured after twenty days mesmerising.

"Chucker Singh, afflicted with pain and stiffness in his back for ten months, was discharged cured after a month.

"Allup Khan, aged 26, with a stiff and painful leg (*sciatica*) for eight months and also cured in a month.

"But much of our labour in medical cases is thrown away from the patients not being in the hospital, as they come and leave off when they please. It is in large General Hospitals, where the patients are under our command, that the extensive utility of mesmerism in the treatment of numerous medical diseases may be satisfactorily demonstrated on a great scale.

"Having expressed my desire to you, gentlemen, to avail myself of Dr. Strong's liberal offer to try the effect of mesmerism upon the inmates of the Insane Hospital here, you were kind enough to sanction a monthly expenditure of 20 Rs. for this purpose, which has been spent in paying ten of the guards 2 Rs. a month each to act as mesmerisers. Being familiar with the soothing and strengthening effects of mesmerism upon the debilitated and irritable nervous systems of the sane, and believing that insanity, in general, originates in debility or functional derangement of the brain, I expected to find mesmerism of service in the treatment of madness, like every thing else that restores tone and regularity to the system. But functional derangement of the brain, if long neglected, becomes as inveterate as other chronic diseases of function, and success under any treatment will mainly depend upon early attention being paid to the case. The Asylum here only contains the most unfavourable and disheartening subjects to work upon; the inmates being generally poor friendless wretches, picked up by the Police in highways, or confined by order of the magistrate for offences committed in paroxysms of madness. We have seldom any previous history of the individual to enable us to guess whether the disease is one of organic lesion or functional derangement only of the brain, and possibly the persons may never have been sane in their lives; under these circumstances, any success whatever from a new mode of treatment would surely be very satisfactory and encouraging. By habitually expecting little, and being thankful for the smallest favor from nature, I have generally had my expectations more than realized.

"The patients were taken in the order of their names in the Register, and none were rejected, except for old age or self-evident idiocy: care being also taken that the persons were *then perfectly mad*, lest a lucid interval might be the commencement of a permanent cure. During the last

six months, thirty-seven persons have been mesmerised, and the results are :—

- 8 cured.
- 1 cured and relapsed.
- 18 no change.
- 1 died.
- 9 under treatment—5 much improved.

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“As I mentioned, *we found the insane as readily affected as the sane*; many of the patients being thrown into the trance, although it was not desired to do so, it not being thought *necessary*. One morning I found a new man being mesmerised, without orders; the native doctor said that he had come to the hospital that morning, and, as his throat was cut, he had desired him to be entranced, if possible, to have it sewn up. On examining the man I found him intensely entranced (after half an hour), and fit to bear any operation, but, I not having the necessary instruments at hand, it was put off. Next day, he was again found entranced, and, the edges of the wound having become callous, they were pared raw with a knife, and the wound was then brought together with stitches and plaster. He was in no way disturbed by this, and on waking was surprised to find himself no longer breathing through the hole in his neck. Several of the men dated their recovery from a certain day, saying that after awaking on such a day they had felt their ‘*heads lightened*,’ or their ‘*hearts opened*,’ and their conduct and appearance agreed with this statement. The rapid change effected in one man, named Beekoram, was very striking. When brought before us, he was the very picture of a moping madman, his mind and body being equally listless and apathetic; his countenance was void of expression, and no rational answers to questions could be got from him. This was one of the men who passed into the trance, and at the end of ten days he was absolutely *a new being, and had become as active and intelligent as he had formerly been torpid and stupid*.

“Dr. Strong one day asked me in conversation if there was any reason to suppose that the natives of this country knew mesmerism before we introduced it among them. I replied that it could not be reasonably doubted, and that their medical conjurers are often genuine mesmerisers, as I have described in my *Mesmerism in India*. This has been confirmed from different quarters, and especially by Dr. Davidson, late resident at Jeyepore. This gentleman, visiting our hospital and seeing the mesmerisers stroking and

breathing upon the patients, said, 'I now understand what the *'jar-phoonk'* of Upper India means; it is nothing but mesmerism.' Being requested to explain himself, he continued:—'Many of my people, after I had tried in vain to cure them of different severe complaints, used to ask leave for several weeks to be treated by the *Jadoo-wallah*, or conjurer; and, to my great surprise, they often returned quite well, and, in reply to my enquiries, they always said that they had undergone a process called *'jar-phoonk.'* I could never understand what this was, but I now see it before me; it is the combination of stroking and breathing; *jarna*, being to *stroke*, and *'phoonka,'* to *breathe*; which very correctly describes the mesmeric process.'

"This conversation with Dr. Strong took place in the presence of the mesmerisers and patients; and, turning to the former, I asked if any of them knew what the *jar-phoonk* was in Upper India, but they were chiefly Bengalees, and had not heard of it. Beekoram, who had been listening, said, '*Jar-phoonk?* Oh yes, I know it,—I am an up-countryman, and will tell you all about it; this is the way the *Jadoo-wallahs* do;' and he went through the process with great precision, pretty much as I have described it as practised in Bengal. *This man, and three other recovered patients, were taught to mesmerise,* and in a few trials subdued their subjects as well as could be desired, and, as a moral discipline, they were required to report upon the conduct of their patients during the day, which they did very satisfactorily every morning. These men, being criminals, have not been discharged, and may be conversed with in the hospital now.

"Dr. Kean, of Berhampore, writes to me that he has had much more striking success in his Lunatic Asylum, probably owing to more regular superintendence, which is indispensable; for if not done with a *will*, it need not be done at all.

"Dr. Kean says:—'Taking a hasty glance over the years 1847 and 1848, I see that about 74 patients were mesmerised, and that of these, 64 were discharged cured to all appearance, and I think it has been successful in every case of epilepsy.'

"It thus appears that mesmerism is likely to be as serviceable in the treatment of insanity as it is in general medicine and the practice of surgery, and I should like extremely to prosecute the subject to the extent it deserves, both for its physical and metaphysical interest; for the physical effects of mesmerism comprise only one-half of the subject, and we must be familiar with both the bodily and mental phenomena

before we can attempt to reason with any success upon the nature and laws which govern this wonderful vital agent.

"It would fill a book if I now related all the marvellous bodily and mental phenomena we have witnessed; but, as those reports are meant to be purely utilitarian, this will be better done at another time and place.

"If it is true,—'That the proper study of mankind is man,' there can be no branch of human knowledge more deserving the attention of all practical and reflecting minds than mesmerism; for it contains an inexhaustible fund of usefulness and instructive speculation. This double and permanent interest which mesmerism has for the human race, must soon attract the notice of the workers and thinkers in England; and Calcutta will receive due honor for having been the first city in the British dominions to support an institution for the cultivation of this important branch of human knowledge. But as long as the exclusion of mesmerism from the public Hospitals of Calcutta renders a separate establishment necessary, I should wish to tax the liberality of the public as lightly as possible. If the native community of Calcutta values the Mesmeric Hospital, and thinks the subject is of national importance, it is necessary for it to make some slight exertions to preserve a useful establishment till the progress of time and public opinion compel the Government Hospital to attend to the wants and wishes of the people. I do not grudge my gratuitous labours; provided the public show that some value is attached to them, and surely there ought to be no difficulty in raising a monthly income of Rs. 350 among the thousands of rich natives here, many of whom could afford the whole sum without feeling it.

"A few gentlemen, paying largely and liberally, chiefly support the Hospital at present; but I hope to be able to relieve them soon by the native community coming forward more generally to share the expense. I should like to see the Hospital supported by numerous small subscriptions, say of Rs. 3 each, and thus be enabled to do much good without the slightest inconvenience to any one.

"Fifty-four persons, who were miserable burdens to themselves and others, have been restored to comfort and usefulness during the last year; many of them Brahmins and persons in good circumstances who would not have gone to any other Hospital; and I put it to the native society to say whether the support of such an institution is not as good a deed as any recommended in the Shasters.

"JAMES ESDAILE, M.D.,
"Marine Surgeon."

*"A Visit to the Mesmeric Hospital.**"Nihil a me alienum puto, &c.*

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE CALCUTTA STAR.

"Dear Sir,—Although a strong believer in the reality and utility of mesmerism without having seen it in any way made use of, I went the other day to the native hospital and through the kind attention of Dr. Esdaile saw sufficient to convert the most sceptical, always supposing him to be open to conviction as a man of honour and a gentleman. I congratulated myself on the occasion that I had taken the trouble to make myself acquainted with the subject before proceeding to doubt its existence or declare it to be *humbug*, and had the satisfaction to find that what I believed in theory was completely borne out in practice.

"After my inspecting several patients who had been operated on for painful scrotal tumors of various kinds, Dr. Esdaile kindly proceeded to mesmerise a man of a strong and healthy appearance, a convalescent who had had a tumor weighing some 60 pounds removed from him, and was very sensitive to the mesmeric influence. Dr. Esdaile made him sit down on a chair, and, placing himself opposite, willed that he should go to sleep; and in four or five minutes, *in spite of the man's obvious efforts to keep himself awake*, he was in a state of profound coma. He answered several questions put to him by Dr. Esdaile, but in the curt and indisposed style to answer of a man who felt compelled to sleep, and the curious phase was, that the man who in his waking state was most obsequious in his salaams gave all his responses in the shortest manner and used no terms of courtesy or even common civility. On being desired to get up and walk, he did so with great reluctance, and proceeded in the same manner as a benighted traveller, with great caution, until he was brought up by the wall; he then just felt it with his hands, let them drop, and continued in a passive state and would have remained so until relieved from his mesmeric trance by his mesmeriser, or by time; on being desired to return, he did so in the same manner. He was shewn to be highly cataleptic; on his arm being thrown up in the air, it remained so, and any part of his body retained its position, although some positions were painful and inconvenient; upon *one side of the body being mesmerised it was beautiful to see the separation of the nervous system so plainly and unconsciously developed by this poor ignorant coolie of Bengal*. On pricking his right arm, leg, hand, right side of the head or trunk, no motion ensued; but prick him *one eighth of an inch on the left side of the middle of the*

spine, no matter where, and the patient winced instantly. A line could not have been drawn more correctly, or even so much so by the most experienced demonstrator of anatomy in the world,—the division that intervened between the highly sensitive and totally deadened part of the system being perfectly imperceptible; on being asked whether he was asleep, his answer was, 'Yes.'

"How do you know whether you are asleep?"

"Because my eyes are shut."

"How then is it that you hear?"

"With my ears."

"But being asleep, how can you hear?"

"Because my ears are awake."

"Some salt was put in this man's mouth, and upon Dr. Esdaile's desiring him to swallow he did so, and upon being asked whether he tasted anything he said, 'No.'

"He was then demesmerised, and upon being questioned said, 'there is salt in my mouth, sahib,' went to the window and spat out what remained; his courteous and kotowing manner in his natural state formed a remarkable contrast to the curt and *brusque* answers made by him during the coma.*

"On moving into another apartment, we selected, at random, a patient who had been operated upon for hypertrophied scrotum. He seated himself on a bed opposite to the Doctor, who was separated from him by a space of three yards or so; then, taking a sheet of paper, the latter pretended to sketch the diseased part so as to prevent the man from imagining that he was to be mesmerised. In two minutes he was fast asleep: the sloughing sore was sponged with *concentrated nitric acid*. I held the man's pulse during the application, the torment of which to a man awake *would have made him frantic*, (as we shall have occasion to show,) but it was not accelerated *a single beat*, not a muscle moved in the man's body, a calm and *placid expression was on his countenance and remained on it*. On the patient awaking he was asked whether he felt any pain; he answered no; nor heat? no; had not the slightest idea that anything had been done to him.

"After this we went into another room where was a man suffering horrible torments from sloughing of the scrotum; he rolled over on the bed and continually groaned and cried. A native mesmeriser had been for some time trying to throw him into a trance but without success; the pain being so acute as to baffle all his efforts. Dr. Esdaile then tried for some time without success; at last he succeeded in throwing

* For the same in a black slave at Damascus, see No. IX. p. 65.—*Zoist*.

him into a sleep, whereby he was rendered perfectly insensible to pricking, but yet he involuntarily threw his arms about in the same manner as when awake, but *uttered no sound that would lead any one to believe him in pain*. The pangs were, however, too acute, and succeeded in awaking him in spite of all attempts to prevent such an occurrence.

"The nitric acid was eventually applied in his waking state, and I shall not, in a hurry, forget the scene; the poor wretch rolled and screamed with the pain, and was left an hour afterwards in the same state of torment. Nothing could have better demonstrated the value of the practice of mesmerism as an anæsthetic than this *failure* to produce coma, for it showed the amount of pain that could be and has been saved by its means.

"One of the most wonderful effects produced by mesmerism was visible in the case of an old man of about 50 (allowing always for the premature appearance of age in the native). He was admitted into the hospital about two months ago with *palsy of long standing; he had lost all power of speech, his limbs were never quiet, he could not shut his hands or raise his arm above the elbow, nor could he walk*—in the short space of *two months* he could *speak well* and intelligibly, could *shut and open his hands freely*, could *lift his arm up above his head with ease*, and managed to *walk with a stick quite well enough to serve his purposes*.

"No medicinal or surgical aid could have been of use in a parallel case: Cases of rheumatism of long standing have yielded to mesmeric treatment, when all other has been of no avail. In conclusion, I have only this to say on the subject, and that is—if mesmerism be humbug then, 'Vive la Bagatelle.'

"Yours,

"LE MÉDECIN MALGRÉ LUI."

"My dear Dr. Elliotson,—The bistoury and the pamphlets arrived safely, for which accept my best thanks. The books I distributed to advantage, and I have no doubt they will do their work effectually in various quarters. Weiss has not made the knife powerful enough in the handle, or according to the drawing; but it is an improvement on his former tool; and I used it the other day in stealing a *ninety-pounder* from its owner *without his knowledge*. The *colis* was dissected out, and the disgusting mass lying on the floor in *three minutes*: the man had *no difficulty in recovering from the shock, and is doing perfectly well*.

"A curious case happened the other day. A young

Hindoo, a rich man, and who had received an English education, begged me to operate upon him without the knowledge of his friends, from whom he had concealed his complaint. If eating beef and drinking brandy are genuine tests of Christianity, 'young Bengal' is a most zealous and devoted convert; the importation of brandy having been doubled in amount of late years in consequence of his pious libations. My patient confessed to drinking two bottles of brandy in the twenty-four hours, and this was doubtless not the limit of his capacity for alcohol.

"He was desired to go to the hospital daily to be mesmerised for one hour, and on the first day he was effectually subdued. On the third day, I operated upon him, and he lay like a dead fish, with his eyes open and turned up, for an hour and a half, and then awoke *gloriously drunk*, declaring that 'he cared for no man,' &c., with true drunken independence. He had intrusted his secret only to one 'antient, trusty, drouthy crony,' who accompanied him, and from whom I learned that he drank six glasses of raw brandy before coming to the hospital at 11 o'clock. The loss of blood, about 2 lbs., also aided the brandy, no doubt, in disturbing the equilibrium of his brain; but he fell asleep at two o'clock, slept till five o'clock, and then awoke in the full possession of his senses, without any pain, and unconscious of the operation and his subsequent delirium.

"Now if he had been kept under the mesmeric influence till five o'clock, giving him the necessary time to exhale the alcohol from his blood, would he not have awoke in all likelihood in the possession of his senses? The antimesmeric philosophers will get rid of all such speculations by declaring it to have been a *brandy operation* from first to last; and I hope Professor Millar will try to repeat it in the Edinburgh Infirmary—the dose is six glasses of 'Castellan Brandy' before 11 o'clock.*

"By this mail, I have the pleasure to send you ten copies of my last Report, to be sent to the newspapers and journals. I have again twitted the medical journals with their cowardice, and you might try whether any of them dare yet let the truth appear in their pages. If they *still* continue the *burking* system, it will be heaping coals of fire upon their heads for their final judgment by the public. It is nearly impossible to get John Bull to think for himself, but he hates a *coward*, and may be worked on this tack. I run a risk of turning tyrant myself, for I now meet with no opposition.

"Believe me, very truly yours,

"4th October, 1849.

"JAMES ESDAILE.

* See No. XXV., p. 103.—*Zoist*.

"P.S. I now rejoice under the name of 'Marine Surgeon,' having lately been promoted to the post amidst a chorus of, 'Served him right!' from my allies the newspapers. The last Report has been printed in them all."

III. *On the conduct of the British Medical Journalists, and nearly the whole of the Medical Profession, in reference to the greatest of medical blessings: with some hints to the Public on Mesmerisers.* By Dr. ELLIOTSON.

"If disgrace be our destiny, you, Sir, will have the satisfaction to reflect upon a *manly* protest against foolery or fraud—*foolery*, if these puerile doings be indeed adjudged as worthy—*fraud*, if their performers concur in the contempt with which they are viewed by the most eminent and wisest members of the Royal College of Physicians."—*Dedication to Dr. Francis Hawkins** by Dr. Robert Hall† of a book entitled, "*A few suggestions on Consumption*," 1849.

THE preceding article from India suggests very serious reflections.

The editors of the medical journals preserve a *dead silence* upon all the mighty mesmeric facts, medical and surgical, which occur and are reported in *The Zoist*: the mightiest facts, I do not hesitate to declare, which medicine or surgery ever furnished; and in numbers which, as the *seven* volumes of *The Zoist* demonstrate, ought to astonish. But their hearts are hardened; and they care not for the welfare of their fellow-creatures; madly believing that they will long be able, even while their own time lasts, to conceal from the medical profession what they well know to be truths, and truths surpassing all other natural truths in both philosophical and practical importance,—truths concerned with life, nay, with sentient, moral and intellectual nature, with the cure of disease, even the most afflicting, and with the alleviation, removal, and prevention of pain.

I feel shame that I belong to the medical profession, I feel shame that I am a human being, when, forgetting for a moment those noble and beautiful unworldly characters who are the salt of the earth, and before whom I count myself as nothing, I behold human nature capable of such inhumanity, such absence of moral principle, and such weak short-sightedness; I involuntarily think of the rabid Jews of

* See *Zoist*, Nos. XXIII. and XXIV.

† The writer is, we believe, an aspirant for practice in Norwich. When Miss Martineau's case was published, he sent a letter to the Norwich paper, saying that more tumors in the abdomen have been created than removed by mesmerism. As Dr. Hawkins announced to the College of Physicians that mesmerists are lewd quacks and impostors, these two gentlemen are calculated to admire each other.

old, who spurned what fell from the lips of him whose aim was to be the Saviour of mankind, and cried out, not knowing what they did, "Not this man, but Barabbas."

The announcement of the blessed power of ether to prevent the agony of surgical operations was not scowled upon nor spoken disparagingly of by us: though our adversaries, editors of medical journals and professors indulged in gross exultation at mesmerism having met with a heavy blow and had one of its limbs cut away and being superseded:* on the contrary, we rejoiced and immediately assisted in spreading the news.† We did not act the unworthy, the miserable part, acted by the opponents of mesmerism when the anæsthetic, and *invariably safe*, power of mesmerism was proclaimed in the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London.‡

Ether gave way to chloroform, and the enthusiasm for preventing surgical pain became general. Patients were killed continually with the poisonous drugs, but this was ascribed to anything but the drug—to its impurity, to want of air, and nobody knows what. The destruction of life by chloroform has gone on increasing, but still our *safe* method without drugs or anything injurious is despised; nay, more than safe, most beneficial, so as sometimes to cause an operation to be dispensed with, but not thought worthy of trial by these philosophers. It is something, however, to see them ashamed of saying any longer that pain is not worth a thought on the part of a surgeon, is a useful thing, a downright blessing to the patient, and that operations cannot be performed without pain; and to see Sir Benjamin Brodie attend painless operations after saying what while his name is remembered will be remembered too.§

There are recorded in the seven volumes of *The Zoist*, and my pamphlet, AT LEAST TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY PAINLESS SURGICAL OPERATIONS; many of the severest kind.

Nearly one hundred were the removal of tumors, varying from a few pounds to above a hundred.

Nineteen were amputations.

There was lithotomy, extirpation of the eye-ball with the subsequent application of strong nitric acid.

* *Medical Gazette*, April 12, 1845; *Lancet*, January, 1847, p. 16; *North British Review*, May, 1847; *Zoist*, Nos. XXII. and XXV.

† See *Zoist*, Nos. XVI., p. 576. For a contrast of the conduct of the medical profession on these two occasions, see *Zoist*, No. XVII., p. 44.

‡ The wild conduct of the Society on that occasion is detailed in my *Numerous Cases of Surgical Operations without Pain in the Mesmeric State*, and my account cannot be equalled in interest by any medical adventures or history.

§ See my pamphlet on *Painless Operations*, p. 36, and *Zoist*, No. XVI., p. 596.

Removals of the breast.

Cuttings out of nails: besides painless applications of the strongest caustics.

And the medical profession are no more cognizant of these stupendous and all important facts than the horses in Athens are of the exquisite figures on the pediment of the Parthenon. They can now give no conscientious reason for their conduct, although originally they declared the patients were impostors, shamming the absence of all signs of pain and all signs of effort to repress the expression of pain, and declared pain was too good a thing to be dispensed with. They have compelled themselves to silence in these particulars, because they are indefatigable in using chloroform.* The figure the present age must cut in the sight of posterity will be rendered still more hideous by the reflection, that, whereas mesmerism is perfectly safe and conducive to recovery, chloroform is destroying life more and more.

How many persons have been destroyed, we have no means of knowing: but I have met with the following accounts.

Killed with Ether or Chloroform, given previously to surgical operations: not to speak of deaths from their administration for other purposes.

With Ether.—A man with stone. Mr. Nunn, of Colchester. *Medical Gazette*, March 5, 1847.

Woman with tumor of the thigh. Mr. Robbs, of Grantham. *Ditto*, April 2, 1847.

Boy—amputation of thigh. Mr. Eastment, Wincanton, Somerset. *Ditto*, April 9, 1847.

Woman—amputation of thigh. Paris. *Medical Times*, Feb. 27, 1847.

Two women, in the wards of M. Jobert: one for amputation of thigh. Paris. *Ditto*, March 20, 1847.

* "The discovery and application of ether and chloroform as anæsthetic agents," says Mr. Wakley, in his *Lancet* for April 8, 1848, *five years after* the first appearance of *The Zoist*—with its mass of painless operations, and the publication of the celebrated painless case of amputation in Nottinghamshire, "will probably distinguish the present era in the future history of mankind!" Great indeed will be the distinction of the mesmerists, who were five years in advance of the profession, and endeavoured wisely to charm the deaf adder! "The avidity with which these agents have been received, seems to imply that a need of them must have been long felt!" "Yet their reception has not been more ready than might have *a priori* been supposed, considering how much they may affect not only our practice but our opinions!" This is charming. And mesmerism, which showed its power of affecting our practice and our opinions far more strongly than mere narcotic drugs, years before these were seized upon, can be hidden and repressed!

With Ether.—Woman—cancer of breast. Auxerre. *Medical Gazette*, March 10, 1848.

Lady—extraction of tooth. Berlin. Correspondent of *Times*, letter dated Nov. 13, 1849.

“A young lady was killed here yesterday by a dentist administering ether in order to draw a tooth without pain. Every effort to restore animation failed; the punishment for the use of such dangerous means by an unqualified person is very severe.”

With Chloroform.—Girl—removal of toe-nail. Newcastle. *Lancet*, Feb. 8, 1848.

Woman—extraction of tooth. Cincinnati. *Ditto*, April 15, ditto.

Ditto—opening a tumor. Boulogne. *Ditto*, June 10, ditto.

Man—extraction of tooth. London. *Ditto*, July 8, ditto.

Woman—amputation of finger. India. *Ditto*, July 15, ditto.

Ditto—extraction of teeth. Birkenhead. *Ditto*, ditto.

Man—amputation. Paris. *Ditto*, July 29, ditto.

Ditto—removal of toe-nail. Govan. *Ditto*, Jan. 6, 1849.

Ditto—amputation of toe. Westminster. *Ditto*, Feb. 17, ditto.

Ditto—ditto finger. Lyons. *Ditto*, Feb. 24, ditto.

Girl—removal of eye. India. *Zoist*, April, ditto.*

Man—the surgeon, inhaling it first himself, for trial, perished. Glasgow. *Med. Gaz.*, Sept. 14, ditto.

Woman—extraction of tooth. Langres. *Ditto*, ditto, ditto.

Boy—amputation of leg. Spain. *Lancet*, Oct. 13, ditto.

Man—removal of scrotal tumor. India. *Zoist*, Oct. ditto.†

Ditto—removal of toe-nail. London. *Lancet*, Nov. 3, ditto.‡

* Contrast this death by Mr. O'Shaughnessy, a despiser of mesmerism, with the successful case under mesmerism by Dr. Martin, *Zoist*, July, 1849.

† Contrast this with all the successful cases under mesmerism by Dr. Esdaile. Neither of these two Indian deaths by chloroform is mentioned in the London medical journals.

‡ To shew how chloroform kills, I will extract the account in the words of Mr. Solly, the unlucky obstinate operator:—“On Wednesday, October 10, at a quarter to two p.m., he began to inhale the chloroform, with one drachm in the inhaler. It had no visible effect for about two minutes; it then excited him, and the in-

Lady—extraction of tooth. Paris. *Medical Gazette*, Nov. 30, ditto.

"Madame Labrune, 33 years of age, in good health, applied to M. de Confrevon with the request that he would administer chloroform to her previously to the extraction of a tooth, which the dentist stated would be effected with some difficulty.

"Having determined to produce only the slightest degree of insensibility, about fifteen grains (one gramme) of chloroform were poured upon a fold of lint the size of a filbert, enclosed in a handkerchief. This was held at a distance from the nostrils by the patient herself.

"Its effects were manifested in eight seconds, and

strumment was removed from his mouth, and about ten drops more were added. He then almost immediately became insensible, the chloroform was taken away from his mouth, and the nail removed. He continued insensible; and his face becoming dark, the pulse small, quick, but regular, respiration laborious, his neck-kerchief was removed, and the chest exposed to fresh air from a window close to the bed; cold water was dashed on his face, the chest rubbed, and ammonia applied to the nose. After struggling for about a minute, he became still, the skin cold, pulse scarcely perceptible, and soon ceased to be felt at the wrist; respiration became slow and at intervals, but continued a few seconds after the cessation of the pulse. Immediately on the appearance of these symptoms artificial respiration was commenced, by depressing the ribs with the hands, and then allowing them to rise again, until the proper apparatus was brought, when respiration was kept up by means of the trachea-tube and bellows, and oxygen gas was introduced into the lungs by the same means. Galvanism was also applied through the heart and diaphragm; but all signs of life ceased in about six or seven minutes after the commencement of inhalation. These means were persisted in until a quarter-past three, but to no purpose. On removing the inhaler, the sponge, which only contains one drachm, fell on to the floor, and the chloroform splashed about, thus showing that considerable part of the chloroform remained unused, so that he could not have inhaled more than a drachm."

I must recall to the memory of my readers Mr. Solly's conduct in reference to mesmerism, recorded in the present volume.* He refused to remove a woman's breast under mesmerism, because the effect of mesmerism was entirely mental! and therefore bad!! The poor woman suffered dreadfully from the operation and the chloroform, and soon she required another operation, and preferred the pain of it to the misery from the chloroform: and now her breast is bad again. Whether after thus destroying a man's life with chloroform, Mr. Solly will still consider the innocent and salutary anaesthesia of mesmerism bad, I know not. Let him reflect upon Dr. Esdaile's successful and painless operations upon toenails belonging to feet still used by their possessors.

"Sons, a Hindoo woman, aged 25. Both nails of the great toes are decayed to the roots; their place being filled by fungoid ulcers, the effects of syphilis and mercury.

"She was mesmerised at 12 o'clock, and at half-past one I dissected out the entire root of one nail, without awaking her. The left arm and hand trembled only, and this I subdued by placing her hand between mine for some minutes; and I left her sleeping.

"August 5th. Repeated the operation to-day with precisely the same effects. On neither occasion did she feel any increase of pain on waking."—No. XIII., p. 40.

"Goluck Seit, a prisoner, has got a hydrocele on each side. A young Hindoo subdued him to-day in ten minutes, on the first trial. When about to ope-

* No. XXV., p. 38.

the reporter remarked constant winking of the eyelids. The patient repulsed the dentist's hand, making signs that the effect was not complete. She then made four or five fuller inspirations. At that instant, M. de Confrevon removed the handkerchief, and only took his eyes off her for the instant occupied by placing it on the nearest piece of furniture; but in this brief interval he found the patient's face turned pale, the lips discoloured, her features altered, the eyes turned upwards, the pupils horribly dilated, the jaw closed, the head drawn backwards, the pulse could not be felt, the limbs were all relaxed, and a few inspirations, at long intervals, were the only remaining indications of life.

"Every means of restoration were employed for two hours: stimulation of the nostrils by ammonia; frictions of the surface; actual canterization of the præcordial region; artificial respiration, and galvanism,—all were had recourse to, but without success: the patient was too surely dead."

Poor Welsh girl—removal of eye-ball. Shrewsbury. Quoted by *Daily News* from the *Hereford Journal*, Dec., 1849.

"Mr. W. J. Clement, the surgeon under whose care she was, administered about one-third of the quantity which he has given other patients. It had, however, such an effect upon her that she was seized with apoplexy, and, speaking in Welsh at the time, expired instantaneously, as if she had swallowed prussic acid."

I have no doubt that a more extensive search would discover more such medical deaths; and in fact other instances have occurred which have been hushed up. They are easily hushed up, and an inquest avoided, if death does not occur immediately. For inhaled ether and chloroform, like all other poisons, may kill instantly or not for some time; and may indeed cause no ill effect or any effect immediately. Because the death of a Right Hon. M.P., mentioned in No. XXV.,

rate, I saw that he possessed a *consecrated nail*, on one of his little fingers; and knowing the value attached to this, I resolved to get possession of it, if possible, as a *moral* test of his being insensible, for he would as soon have cut a cow's throat and eaten a beef-steak as allowed me to cut off his nail, while in possession of his senses. It is a common practice with the Hindoos to vow their hair, beards, or nails to Shiva, the Destroyer, in the hope of averting his anger; and this man had consecrated his little finger-nail to Shiva Forakissore,—Forakissore, in this district, being a famous shrine of the god. *I transferred the sacred ex-crescence to my pocket, without any remonstrance being made, and then performed the less formidable operation of withdrawing the water, and throwing in the injection, of which he knew nothing on awaking two hours after. His only distress was the loss of his nail, and he spent hours in hunting for it, supposing that it had been broken off by accident.*"—No. XV., p. 315.

p. 37, did not take place for some days,—as in Mr. Travers's case of death from ether, mentioned in No. XXV., p. 37, but where no secrecy was observed,—he never rallying after the administration of chloroform, though the surgical operation was a trifle, the death was said to have arisen from typhus fever or from absorption of pus; though these were mere inventions. Women, after passing through parturition well without pain, have gradually sunk at the end of a few days, or have begun to feel the effects of the inhalation after a certain number of hours and fallen into convulsions and apoplexy and died; the administration of chloroform having been kept a secret to as great an extent as possible. I could relate many facts of this kind.

Where females are killed by chloroform in childbirth, there is no inquest, because the death is ascribed to the childbirth; just as in most cases where it is caused by the clumsiness or impatience of the man-midwife.

In No. XXV., p. 38, I mentioned ill effects from chloroform of longer or shorter duration, not amounting to death: and I hear of more such results every day. I know that Dr. Webster really made the following statement, which I extract from the *Literary Gazette* of the 24th of last November.

"Insanity from Chloroform."

"At a recent meeting of the Westminster Medical Society, Dr. John Webster related the histories of three cases of insanity after the use of chloroform, during labour, which had come under his cognizance. In the first case, the patient continued three days after her delivery in an incoherent, rambling condition, and then became perfectly maniacal, and so furious as to require coercion. She was removed some time after to a lunatic asylum, where she remained twelve months, and she has now recovered her reason. The second patient never recovered from the effects of the chloroform administered, and soon became completely insane, in which state she continued many months, but ultimately recovered. In the third instance, the cerebral disturbance never ceased entirely after the exhibition of the chloroform. She could not sleep at night for a long time; and often said she felt as if in the presence of a madman who was going to murder her. Three weeks subsequently, she seemed almost completely maniacal, exhibiting much mental excitement, laughing frequently, and expressed strong desire to sing, and other extraordinary feelings; conducted herself like an idiot, and lost her memory; in which state she continued five months, when she recovered. Instantaneous death and loss of reason are two of the consequences now ascertained to result, in some cases, from the immediate noxious influence of this potent agent."

It is ludicrous to read the attempts of the partizans of ether

and chloroform, especially of those who gain money by going about administering them, or have fully committed themselves in the matter and have thus what an intellectual man would regard as a trumpery kind of professional reputation, to explain these mischievous results without reference to chloroform—to ascribe them to want of air, impurity of the drug, &c. though all the marks of narcotic poisoning were observed before and after death.* The *Medical Gazette* is honest on this subject: for, after detailing the last case which occurred at Paris, it says:—

“Facts of this kind have become so multiplied that it is no longer possible to attribute them to any other cause than chloroformization. Omitting all the cases of which we have not the exact details, and confining our attention to those already referred to, it is clearly impossible to arrive at any other conclusion. In all these, the symptoms which preceded death, compared with the necroscopic results, prove the extinction of life to have been owing to a real asphyxia, the direct effect of the special deleterious influence of chloroform on the brain.

“In the present instance the patient died as if struck by lightning, despite the small quantity of vapour inhaled, and the precautions observed. There was no warning, as in M. Gorre’s case, no

* As Mr. Wakley was seized in 1847 with a fit of more than his ordinary piety when mesmerism was superseded by ether and lost one of its limbs, and proposed a public national thanksgiving to the Almighty for putting it in our power to operate without pain (*Zoist*, No. XVII., p. 47), though he has not thanked God at all for enabling us to operate painlessly and safely under mesmerism. He will probably now propose a public national fast and humiliation on account of the havoc which inhalation has made among us, and advise those who have killed their patients to put on sackcloth and throw *ashes* on their heads.

He thus writes in that year:—“A distinguished physician* of one of the great metropolitan hospitals addresses us as follows:—

“The greatest blessing vouchsafed, in these latter days, to those who live on earth, is, for the present, in the keeping of one class of men, and of that alone. The prevention of pain by the inhalation of ether vapour has been hitherto practised only by those whose business is with the healing art. As yet, this gift from heaven to all is held by us of the medical profession in sole and exclusive trust. It is time that we acknowledge the Giver. Let not this warrant of mercy pass from us to the world at large, without the stamp of worship and thanksgiving. It has been often said by the pharisee, that, as a class of men, physicians and surgeons are wanting in the sentiments of love and reverence to Him whose sentence is for life or death. Let us refute this idle and petulant slander now, while occasion serves, at once and for ever. Let the chaplain of every hospital in which these wonders have been witnessed, be invited by the MEDICAL OFFICERS of the establishment to offer up their humble and hearty thanks for the late mercies vouchsafed to the patients under their charge. Let every student in every class-room humble himself, with his teacher, in the presence of an agency which renews in suffering man the healing miracles of old. There should be public acts of thanksgiving throughout the land, for this signal favour to man present and to come. Let young and old be earnest for this privilege, with their clergy, and let physicians and surgeons be the first to bow the knee.”

* Probably Dr. J. A. Wilson, whose virulence against mesmerism is recorded in No. XXIII., p. 234.

complaint of sense of suffocation; on the contrary, the patient, at the moment of dying, indicated that the anæsthesia was not complete, and this was shown by her still tightly holding the handkerchief when taken from her.

"M. Sedillot has pointed out that the supervention of muscular relaxation is the period at which the administration of the agent should cease; but the preceding case shows that this indication is fallacious. The pulse does not furnish a more certain indication, since, in M. Berrier's case, life and the pulse ceased simultaneously."*

But, though the editor's heart was so overjoyed that he announced ether with the words—"Mesmerism Superseded," he makes no reflection upon his former hastiness of joy.

I record these facts with real sorrow: because, in common with every mesmerist, I should have rejoiced to see inhalations always successful and innocent. That I speak the truth, is proved by the conduct of us all from the first announcement of ether and chloroform, and during all the indecent exultation and insults of our adversaries.†

* It is remarkable that the poor woman had been successfully etherized before for slight surgical operations.

† One of the bitterest revilers of mesmerism is Mr. Lawrence: (See *Zoist*, No. XXIII., p. 286,) and for no reason I am certain beyond unworthy feelings. The painless Nottinghamshire amputation made no impression upon him: the prevention of pain was then no object to him; and the poor man was an impostor. Ether and chloroform, now superseding mesmerism, made him value painless operations, and the subjects of them clearly were not impostors and suffered no pain. I heard the Prince Consort quietly ask him at a party what his proof of absence of pain in etherized patients was: "Oh!" said he, raising his shoulders and screwing his mouth, "they lie quite motionless and express no pain." The poor Nottinghamshire mesmerised man was not let off thus easily, as my Pamphlet records. Mr. Lawrence thus writes in the *Medical Gazette*, Jan. 22, 1847:—

"I had occasion last week to perform one of the most painful surgical operations; and I *gladly* embraced the opportunity of submitting to what will, I think, be deemed a complete test, the recently introduced practice of inhaling the vapour of sulphuric ether. The great interest excited throughout the medical profession, and in the public generally, on a matter of which the importance can hardly be overated in reference to operative surgery, induces me to communicate to you the particulars without delay; the result having been perfectly satisfactory."

"To inquiries respecting what he had felt, the patient said that it was like drowning—a sense of water rushing and overwhelming him: then came a snap, and he felt nothing further. It was clear at the time that he did not know that the operation had been performed, and this subsequent statement clearly shows that he must have been entirely unconscious."

"Considering the nature of the ether vapour, and the mode in which it influences the sentient and moving power, we may infer that its influence on the sensorium is analogous to that of intoxicating liquors introduced into the stomach. Many years ago, a middle-aged woman was brought into St. Bartholomew's, drunk, with a compound fracture and other serious injury of the leg requiring amputation. Having reflected on the circumstances, I could see no reason why the state of intoxication should prevent the performance of an operation absolutely necessary, and I accordingly removed the limb at once above the knee in the ward. The gentlemen present and myself were perfectly satisfied that the

If the conduct of the medical journalists and teachers and so many others of the medical profession is reprehensible in regard to the powers of mesmerism in *safely* preventing surgical pain, it is not less reprehensible in regard to the powers of mesmerism in the treatment of diseases.

We can proudly point to the stately pile of cures amassed in *The Zoist*:—cures surpassing those by ordinary medicine, because effected with no disgusting, harshly or uncomfortably acting drugs, exhausting measures, or torturing external applications; because effected in many instances, after all ordinary means had been long employed in vain; and because such cures in many cases were never before effected by art. I boldly challenge our opponents to produce such an array of cures. Among them stand out prominently the cure, by the wife of the Archbishop of Dublin, of perfect blindness of twenty-six years standing; and the cure of genuine cancer. The former astonishing cure has never been even alluded to by any English medical journal. The latter has been spoken of in a way which must, like their dead silence upon the cure of blindness, lower the medical profession in the opinion of the world. Mr. Wakley wrote thus in his *Lancet* of Nov. 11th, 1848,—

“The pretended cure of a cancer by mesmerism, as announced in a pamphlet, is one of the *grossest puffs* we have ever seen. It cannot deceive any medical practitioner who is acquainted with his profession. It appears that the treatment commenced in 1843, and the tumor did not disappear until 1848. *Hundreds*, and even *thousands* of similar tumors, supposed to have been cancers, disappear from the breasts of females in half those years, and under every variety of treatment that can be made. Under the system of pressure, as practised by the late Mr. Young, tumors of double the size were completely absorbed in less than six months; some in two or three months. Mr. Young published scores of such cases, and the attestations to his accuracy were respectable and conclusive. Many tumors, apparently of a true scirrhus nature, have been promptly absorbed under the admirable system of pressure first adopted and recommended by Dr. Neil Arnott. In a few weeks beneficial effects have been produced, the patients have been relieved, both from their sufferings and their swellings. It is time that the obscenities of mesmerism should engage the attention of the heads of families, and all persons who uphold the character of English society for its purity and morality. The statements which are occasionally sent to us are descriptive of scenes which are highly disgusting. Why do not its medical advocates transfer the practice to the hands of females, since

patient was unconscious of the proceeding, though, being subsequently jeered on the subject by some of her fellow patients, she contended that she knew what was done at the time, but did not feel pain.” See also *Zoist*. No. XXIII., p. 286: for the advantage of chloroform, see XXV., p. 40.

in nineteen cases out of twenty, the patient, alias the victim, alias the particeps criminis, is a female. This of course would not suit the object of the benevolent masculine mesmeriser. Whatever may become of the delusion called mesmerism, we are resolved, provided we are duly aided by our professional brethren, that the obscenities of mesmerism shall be no longer practised with impunity."

The public ought to know that surgeons are obliged to cut away cancerous and other tumors as often as before the time of Messrs. Young and Arnott, and never employ their methods, because pressure has proved a complete failure. Dr. Heath, who was resident medical officer of the Middlesex Hospital when Mr. Young was allowed to make his trials there for a year, and witnessed them all, is now in London, at the York Hotel, York Terrace, Regent's Park, and assures me that the plan was worse than a failure. It caused great pain; adherence of the tumors to the subjacent parts; effusion into the chest; difficulty of breathing, &c.; and not one patient was cured. I have been applied to respecting Dr. Arnott's patients on account of the extreme suffering, mischief, and failure of his mode of applying pressure by bags of air or water. The friends of one lady told me, a few days ago, that, after dreadful suffering, suppuration occurred and death from exhaustion, after he had tried his plan upon her.

On reading Mr. Wakley's bold assertions, I wrote to one of the surgeons of St. Thomas's Hospital, Mr. South, who is translating a celebrated modern German work on all surgery, and adding notes to perfect it with the recent English facts. He answered me that he had found the pressure plan a complete failure, and had long ceased to trouble himself about it; but that he would enquire in the profession if anything had turned up in its favour, and let me know. His letter was dated Dec. 20th, 1848, and I have not heard from Mr. South since. The world who fancied that Mr. Wakley had detected imposition in my experiments may learn from this alone how much confidence is to be placed in what he unhesitatingly says.

The *Provincial Journal*, conducted by Drs. Streeten and Ranking, thus speaks of it,—

"The only surgical opinion of repute which he quotes, (that of the late Mr. Samuel Cooper,) calls it 'a painful tumor, which was believed to be of a cancerous nature,' thus throwing doubt as to its cancerous nature at all. The evidence, then, amounts to this:—A woman has a painful tumor of the breast, very like cancer, which, in five years of that very critical period of her life—between 42 and 47 years, is absorbed, her general health having greatly improved, and during this period she was mesmerised, with some intervals. *Valcat quantum valere potest.* If this is to be considered as medical

evidence, such as medical men will believe, so as to induce them to recommend or try a new plan, open to the gravest objections, we should feel ashamed of our profession. But that national common sense and judgment which the practice of medicine (especially in the provinces, where responsibility is not much divided) fosters, is a guarantee against the propagation of such 'mental fevers.'"

"That mesmerism occasionally produces the phenomena of somnambulism, catalepsy, and hysteria, every one who has studied the evidence must believe; but the whole process is so repulsive to men of clear, clean minds, and is so open to the vilest abuse, that any benefits which may accrue from it are thought to be too dearly purchased. We thank Dr. F. Hawkins for openly and boldly stating the general opinion. Dr. Elliotson considers it a stigma that the medical profession neglected the facts of insensibility produced by mesmerism, but at once employed ether and chloroform. Nothing, in our minds, proves more the real soundness of the morals of the medical body. Bodily health is a good thing, but there is something better. It is the pure in heart who see God."

One of these editors, Dr. Ranking,* has ignored all our painless surgical operations, called us mischievous practitioners, taking up mesmerism, homeopathy, and such like vagaries; and yet in the same article gives an account of a healthy female who had a string tied round her breast to remove a tumor of it. "She bore the initiatory steps of the operation without a murmur, without failure of pulse, and without change of countenance. *The instant the ligature was tightened, which it was with the full force of two surgeons, she gave a yell of agony, the pulse became imperceptible, the countenance became ghastly pale, and in eighteen hours she was a corpse!*"

Mr. S. Cooper, who was always a very timid, reserved man, unacquainted with mesmerism, and at the moment in his death-bed, full of grief at his treatment by University College, so that he seemed uneasy at writing anything which he was told by me I should publish, had never doubted for a moment that it was cancer, but advised its excision without delay. After I left him he told Mr. Broxholm of Chertsey that it really had been a true cancer, and that it really now was entirely gone. Surely the various surgeons who saw it were as capable as any others of forming an opinion. Dr. Ashburner and myself, from having been attached to hospitals all our lives, have had ample experience to judge of cancer: and I ask the *Provincial Journal*, if the description of this *hereditary* case were given to a candidate at his examination at the College of either Physicians or Surgeons, and he did not answer that it was a cancer, he ought not to be turned back as unfit to prac-

* He publishes half-yearly abstracts of medical novelties. See *Zoist*, XIX., 291.

tise? The case admitted of no doubt, so distinctly was it marked. Whether the cancerous disposition in the frame would have been eradicated by mesmerism, I dare not say.

Such splendid facts in the alleviation and cure of human suffering may have no attraction to men of *clear and clean* minds,—men *pure in heart* and who *see God!* These are noble, candid *Englishmen*, who write thus; high minded, high bred *gentlemen*; humble, meek, and brother-loving *Christians*, asked by the beloved disciple of him whose followers they are always proclaiming themselves, “He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?”* This is pre-eminently the day of cant.

I lately had a letter from Miss Aglionby, of whom Dr. Thomas Mayo† wrote in so discreditable a manner, after a conversation with the Rev. Dr. Maitland, as I happen to know. That injured lady writes, “I have to thank you for your kind defence of me against Dr. Mayo’s aspersions, which, however, did not trouble me much. Mesmerism has done me much more good than he can ever do me harm. If the good doctor had deigned to read over my case attentively before he attacked me, he might have seen that though I was ‘possessed,’ as he calls it, by Mr. Nixon, I was still more strongly influenced by a crystal; but that, perhaps, might be equally horrifying to an antimesmerist. As to ‘husbands, fathers, and brothers objecting,’ my brother-in-law (a clergyman) kindly continued the mesmeric treatment six weeks after Mr. Nixon ceased to attend me. But enough of this subject: we mesmerists,—whether insignificant like myself, or the leader and apostle of the cause like you,—must all make up our minds to be reviled and slandered.”

But although these editors, in their shallow course of temporary expediency, not thinking that they must soon come aground, ignore all the facts of *The Zoist*, they publish whatever they fancy to make against mesmerism. The editor of the *Medical Gazette* published the report of the Calcutta committee without reference to *The Zoist*, which report I published in No. XVII. It was drawn up by men quite ignorant of mesmerism, and violently prejudiced against the subject, and thus unfit, intellectually and morally, for the task. I exposed the report in the same number, and published the exposure of it made by the honest, manly editors of all the India newspapers, who set a noble example to certain cowardly English editors of newspapers who have witnessed mesmerism a hundred times in private houses, profess their belief in private, and receive *The Zoist*, promise great

* 1 John iv., 20.

† *Zoist*, No. XXIV., p 378.

assistance to the cause continually, and yet allude to it about once in two years, and then take great care not to commit themselves.* Dr. Esdaile demolished all the sayings and doings of his weak official visitors, as may be seen in No. XXII., p. 158. But not a word of all this did Dr. A. Taylor insert in his *Gazette*, and I wonder that his employers, Messrs. Longman, allow such conduct, as if they had the feelings of mere tradesmen. Though they publish none of the benefits of mesmerism, the editor of the *Medical Gazette*† published an account by a Dr. Sharkey, of Jersey, of the alleged ill effects of mesmerism in two cases. A boy was said to have become epileptic, and a girl to have been convulsed. And no wonder; for the ignorant person who mesmerised the boy, not being able to wake him (mesmerism being, of course, all imposition), various persons attempted, and frightened the poor child into fits: the same was probably the cause in the girl. Epilepsy often arises from fright: in the mesmeric state there is always sensitiveness; and violent means and the interference of strangers may, of course, frighten the subject into fits. The girl is said only to have suffered some inconvenience afterwards. Nothing more likely, if ignorant persons play with mesmerism. However, no names or addresses are given. A friend of mine—Colonel Davidson, resident in Jersey now for five years and a half, and much occupied with mesmerism, never heard of these cases, and has made every enquiry about them, but in vain, and the Dr. Sharkey has left the island. Dr. Dickson, of Jersey, who prohibits his patients from being mesmerised, has never appealed to these cases.

To show the feeling of the *Medical Times*, I quote the following passage from a recent number:—†

“The absence of his Holiness from Rome appears to have offered a vacancy in the art of miracle-mongery, which has been seized upon by the mesmerisers: but their triumph has been of short duration, as might have been easily foreseen. At Rome it is a sacrilege for any one, save a priest, to work a miracle. This fact seems to have escaped the sagacity of M. La Fontaine, an authority among the mesmerisers, who recently visited the ‘Holy City’ and then opened a shop on his own account, at a meeting, attended, as we are informed, (in a letter from Rome,) by all the medical men in modern Babylon. Mr. La Fontaine injected the mesmeric fluid into the ears of two young deaf and dumb persons, who immediately received the faculty of hearing. For his pains, he received a pressing invitation to betake

* Such men dare not imitate the conduct of the *Morning Herald*, which boldly published my account of Rush; nor of the *Family Herald*, which sells to an immense amount, and has no fear of leading the public to a knowledge of mesmerism and *The Zoist*.

† March 12th, 1847.

‡ November 17th, 1849.

himself elsewhere,—proving the truth of the old adage, that two of a trade can never agree.”—Nov. 17th., 1849.*

The editor of the *Medical Gazette*, in ecstasy informed his readers last October 12th, that a book exists called the *Miraculous Nonconformist*, which shews that a man named Great-rakes practised mesmerism in the seventeenth century and cured as well as we do now. Medical editors either calculate upon a high amount of ignorance in the profession or are grossly ignorant themselves. In No. IX., April, 1845, I quoted this work, and published an engraving of Greatrakes mesmerising, and in the first number of *The Zoist* (April, 1843) had given an account of him. But his wonderful cures have always been known to the mesmeric world. This learned editor tells his readers, as great news, that “one fact appears conclusive,—this mode of cure by the hands was known a century before Mesmer was born.” If Dr. A. Taylor was as informed as Messrs. Longman and Co. have a right to expect him, he would know that *The Zoist*† has shewn mesmerism to have been long known in India and Greece, and even in the times of the ancient Jews.‡

* A gentleman called upon me lately, saying he was Dr. Bushman and foreign editor of the *Medical Times*, that I had shewn him some politeness many years ago, and that he was quite ignorant of mesmerism, but very anxious to see something of it, and would be obliged to me if I would give him an opportunity. I immediately offered to shew him some cases, and we fixed an evening and hour. He then begged permission to bring his son. To this also I assented. I had my patients ready; and expected him the whole evening. He never came, nor has he ever sent an excuse. This anecdote and the quotation are in harmony.

† Nos. X., p. 156; XI., p. 304; XIX., p. 273; XXIII., p. 250, 263; XXVIII., p. 361.

‡ Dr. A. Taylor is as ignorant of phrenology and equally inveterate against it. He calls it a flimsy science, and inserts any trash which is sent him against it by persons equally ignorant with himself, whereas he copies not one of those unanswerable confirmations of it which appear in *The Zoist*. Our adversaries were all mute respecting Rush.

I may be excused for relating in a foot-note something personal, but finely illustrating the malevolent spirit of medical editors towards mesmerists themselves. In the late Dr. James Johnson's *Medico-Chirurgical Review*, some of the attacks in which upon mesmerism are too vulgar and obscene for quotation in *The Zoist*, was, on Oct. 1, 1846, a review of my Harveian Oration, which is said to be chiefly occupied with bald and profitless tales about Linacre, Caius, and other old fellows of the College, and with a dreary account of the disputes about the circulation of the blood in Harvey's time. For the folly and untruth of all this, I refer with pride to the oration. “The narrative,” however, is said to be “enlivened with random remarks, some of which are really very amusing. For example, four of the silly opposers of Harvey's views are thus summarily consigned to rest: requiescant in pace. ‘Simon Boullotius cum Hugone Chalesio, Franciscus quoque Bazin cum Philippo Hardouino suo;

— not a pinch of dust remains of Cheops.’

Sanguis autem illum suum ‘motum circularem’ etiam nunc improbus tenet. The classicity of the Latin (ILLUM SUUM is surely Elliotsonian) is strangely set off by the English quotation.” The unacquaintance with Latin on the part of the anonymous writer is equal to his inability to perceive the truths and

If the mass of practitioners are kept in the dark and prejudiced by the journalists, they are not the less injured by those to whom they are in the habit of looking up in practice, and in many cases most absurdly. The treatment of insanity requires the greatest improvement; for, in our insane establishments, with a superabundance of means, no advances in the knowledge of the disease are made; nor in the cure, beyond preserving the general health, making the patients comfortable, and doing them no harm, as doctors formerly always did. Those who obtain their living by insanity know no more about the philosophy of the disease or its treatment than the ordinary practitioners outside the buildings who practise in every thing: and yet they pride themselves upon despising mesmerism. Dr. Conolly many years ago wrote what will be found in *Zoist*, No. VII., pp. 275-7, and lately advertised his disbelief of mesmerism,* as though he knows more about it than any of his keepers. The world will not endure this much longer, when they have learnt that out of 74 insane persons mesmerised by Dr. Kean in the last two years, 64 were discharged to all appearance cured. While a few surgeons of India, no less than *all* the newspaper editors, show in fine contrast with those of Great Britain, so do the

character of my oration. The expression—*illum suum* is the union of a demonstrative with a possessive pronoun, common not only in Latin but in all the few other languages that I understand. "Do have a little mercy upon me and ~~these~~ my naughty brother editors," would be good English in a medical journal. In speaking of the modesty of Socrates, Cicero says, "*Suum illud, nihili ut affirmet, tenet ad extremum*," (*Tusc. Quæst.*, i., 42.) This writer also calculates, like Mr. Wakley, upon the ignorance of his professional readers and the power of boldness, or, what is more probable, knows no better. For the editors of the English medical journals and their contributors spell many words usually wrong, writing phymosis, paraphymosis, aneurismus, &c. Perhaps he may be interested in the following letter from a highly educated and most distinguished man:—

"My dear Dr. Elliotson,—I have had great pleasure in reading your very admirable oration, which I have done in both the languages in which it is written, and am much charmed with the ingenious elegance of the Latin, and the simple boldness with which you have surmounted many technical difficulties in your subject, in that very classical piece of scholarship; and still more pleased, as well as instructed, by the more important essentials in the matter and argument.

"I think the manliness of your appeal one of your finest efforts on behalf of the only true mode of following science, viz., experiment of what is before the eyes, with that proper mixture of faith and diffidence which teaches us both the illimitable resources of nature and the little knowledge we have as yet acquired of her secrets.

"Most obediently your's,

"E. BULWER LYTTON.

"James Street."

* *Zoist*, No. XXIV., p. 369. This is worth referring to. He might learn much of the philosophy of insanity from the account of Miss Collins's case in Nos. XI., XII.

physicians concerned with the insane. Let Dr. Conolly study the enlightened conduct of Dr. Strong and Dr. Kean.

The immense majority of cures of insanity are spontaneous: and, if more cures take place now than formerly, it is because doctors do less mischief than formerly. All who have friends insane should insist upon an ample trial being made of mesmerism, notwithstanding Drs. Conolly, Munro, Morrison, and nearly the whole band of insanity doctors, childishly sneer at the mention of mesmerism.*

The mass of practitioners are encouraged to despise mesmerism equally by those who happen to practise among the higher orders. Sir James Clark, though I was once at the trouble to shew him the wonders of the Okeys, was unable to appreciate them, and smiles with pity upon those who believe in mesmerism. Dr. H. Holland, when Mr. Chenevix was here, argued to me in the words of Cuvier and La Place that mesmerism was highly probable, but now considers it folly: for the late Bishop of Norwich, just before his death, told a reverend friend of mine that one of his family had procured sleep by its means and been wonderfully benefitted when all other means had failed, but that "when he mentioned it to Holland, Holland only laughed at him." Dr. Bright tells those patients who ask his opinion upon mesmerism, that it is "all chicanery." Dr. Fergusson continually discourages its use, though before some persons he appears favourable to it: and a lady, whose neuralgia both he and Sir B. Brodie had failed to relieve, told me that he one day began to mesmerise her himself, but that Sir B. Brodie entered the room, and said, "that's all nonsense; it will do no good;" and he instantly desisted. Dr. Chambers told Baron de Goldsmid that it was all humbug; that he had never seen

* Would any one believe that Dr. Conolly lately made the following observations in a lecture at the College of Physicians?

"The yet unsettled state of many important questions relative to the nervous system, and the revolutions even now taking place in its theories, or the mere rising up of doubts respecting that great theory of sensation and movement, which it was once supposed the labours of Sir Charles Bell had settled on some foundation, a subject ingeniously alluded to by Dr. Gull, Gulstonian lecturer, a week or two ago from this place—tend at least to enforce caution, to lessen our reliance on mere experiments, and to direct our attention more closely to structure and to function in health and disease.

"Men now of middle age find the whole face of physiology to have changed since they were students, and the most important parts of the change are quite recent. They cannot but learn from this to abstain from the premature endeavours yet to construct imperishable theories, and to be content still to observe and to record. The veil which surrounds our senses is but gradually and slowly permitted to be withdrawn, and it is neither useful nor wise to hasten to positive conclusions, as if we had already seen all the glorious things that are behind it; and which, if ever fully to be known by man, successive men and ages will alone be permitted to disclose."—*Lancet*, Oct. 20, 1849.

it, would not go and see it; and, if he did, he would not believe it.* This is the language always held by Sir B. Brodie and so many physicians and general practitioners at the west end of town who aspire to fashionable practice and almost all model themselves upon him, though a very limited person.

The Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons and the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society refuse their members an opportunity of reading *The Zoist* or other mesmeric works. The College of Physicians allows its Fellows to stigmatize at its meetings those Fellows who are mesmerists as lewd quacks and impostors, without calling to account those who utter such language or those who are thus accused. Of course I shall never attend a meeting or take part in the affairs of the College again while this impunity continues. Mr. Stanley was lately President of the College of Surgeons. It was he who introduced the account of the Nottinghamshire mesmeric amputation to the Society, and he told me at the time that the case was most satisfactory: for his words were, "it is as *clean* a case as ever was published,"—TERES ATQUE ROTUNDUS. Mr. Green is now President, and he, having imbibed all the opinions of Coleridge and seen mesmerism thirty years ago in Germany, acknowledges its truth in private. For a gentleman informed me that, when London was full of the phenomena of the Okeys, he said, "Why I knew all this years ago: but mind don't say anything about it." He will surely do better than Mr. Stanley, and order *The Zoist*. The Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, being a more open institution, will not go on much longer without it.

The younger men of the profession are now beginning to see that their seniors and leaders have played them a bad trick; and are daily expressing to me their anxiety to learn the truths of mesmerism. Few medical persons now longer

* I was out of town and the Baron consulted Dr. Chambers, who asked who had attended him. "Dr. Elliotson." "Oh, that gentleman who has always some new fancy in his head, and now he has got mesmerism." "Why, don't you believe its truth, Dr. Chambers?" "No; and I would not believe it if I saw it," &c. To all this I am accustomed. When I established the good effects of prussic acid, Dr. Chambers with others succeeded for a long while in keeping it out of the Pharmacopœia: when I established the use of quinine, he said across me at the College of Physicians that its name would not be remembered in a twelvemonth: when I advocated the stethoscope, he long called it humbug, just the thing for me to rave about, a thing that he never heard any sensible man speak in favour of. I have now lived to see him habitually prescribe quinine and prussic acid, and habitually use the stethoscope in consultation with me. I repeat this now in order to say that it is anything but highminded in gentlemen not to confess that formerly they were wrong, and did me injustice. Dr. Chambers did me infinite harm for twenty years: but I never retorted.

For Dr. Seymour's language in regard to mesmerism, see *Zoist*, No. XX., p. 370. He calls all stethoscopists fools,—see my *Numerous Cases*, p. 61.

dare to call it humbug : but their tack is to call it dangerous. They most unscrupulously, and without any reason, being altogether ignorant of it, tell patients who wish for it that it excites the brain and causes insanity. I knew a royal physician, a secret believer in mesmerism, who was attending a lady with cancer of the uterus, and of course did her no good. Her son, understanding mesmerism, wished to mesmerise her : but the physician forbade it : preferring that the poor woman should be unrelieved rather than it be said that he had sanctioned mesmerism. I know another physician, formerly a fellow of a college in Cambridge, who had ceased to prescribe for a case of consumption, saying that he could do no good : but, when asked if the patient's earnest wish to be mesmerised might be gratified, forbade it, and, though a relation, said he would never attend her again if it were done. It is very common for medical persons to oppose mesmerism violently in cases where they have long declared they could neither cure nor benefit the sufferer.

I knew a surgeon who many years ago cut off a limb in mesmeric insensibility : but now is absolutely enamoured of chloroform, and declares mesmerism never strengthens any one. He gave a patient 500 drops of laudanum a day, absolutely refusing to mesmerise her, when he knew that she might be sent to sleep in two minutes, and had always received inexpressible benefit from it : and he added that he knew I should not think of mesmerising her. I did mesmerise her daily as soon as she arrived in town : and at the end of a week she left off her opium altogether, and went to the opera twice a week, as well as to other places every day : generally drove out twice in the day. She had made the journey to London in two days, and arrived in a state that shocked me, such as I had not seen her in before. She returned home in *one* day, and was able to take her usual walk and drive the day after, notwithstanding an attack of English cholera which had thrown her back before she left town. This person's conduct in regard to mesmerism is truly lamentable, and arises, I feel certain, from his desire not to be thought a favourer of mesmerism by his rich patients who laugh at it, and by the fashionable doctors in London with whom he is often in consultation. If he had made but a dozen passes daily before her, a sweet sleep would have been produced, and she would have been spared loads of opium, which only accelerated and aggravated her returns of agony and made her wretched, and she would have been spared many weeks of agony and such exhaustion that, whenever he saw a servant going in the direction from the mansion, he expected it was to announce her

sinking. She grew worse and worse till he was frightened, and anxious that she should come to town: And yet she gave him every hint and silent entreaty to mesmerise her: and he knew that I had years ago given as much as 1200 drops of laudanum in a day, with no alleviation of the pain but rather an acceleration of the returns, and violent subsequent vomiting, and then cured all rapidly by mesmerism only. He said at last that mesmerism might do good as she had *faith* in it! but for no other reason: and yet he once knew that a patient in Nottinghamshire, who was mesmerised before his leg was cut off, got better nights and was improved in strength by the mesmerism before the operation. He knew that she said the sleep from opium was less refreshing than mesmeric sleep.

"Oh! what different sleep it is from mesmeric sleep!" she wrote to me. . . . "I can scarcely understand his object in not mesmerising me, unless he wishes to be able to say that he has never tried it in any case, for I have often told him how susceptible I was; and he has often during my illness remained with me three or four hours in the morning and two at night, if not more."

Once she wrote,—

"Last Thursday I thought I never could have lived through the night: twenty-four hours of almost constant pain had reduced me to almost the last stage of weakness—pain which mesmerism would have saved me, but which laudanum failed in relieving; for it would not then remain on my stomach. If I had wanted any further conviction of the advantages which I have derived from it in former illnesses, this present illness might convince the most incredulous by the difference. This time I have hardly been above three or four days without some relapse; when I was so ill in London and you were mesmerising me, from the second, if not quite the first day, I began to mend without a drawback: but alas! I fear all hope of my being able to have it done here is in vain."

This was a lady of high rank: and mesmerism is a thing which ought to be accessible without a farthing of expense to the poorest person—for any body in health can mesmerise. This was *legitimate* medicine and legitimate suffering.

Some medical men tell patients that mesmerism can do no good, as it works solely on the imagination. To say nothing of the untruth of this, why should not a cure by imagination be as good a cure as any other? A lady at Bristol, who could not turn in her bed before she was mesmerised, astonished her friends one day by walking into the square; and she had been subjected to the annoyance of a medical friend making that assertion.

Professor Christison, of Edinburgh, considers mesmerism quackery. A lady, whose father was in a hopeless state, wrote

me word that she called upon him to speak to him about mesmerism: he told her he thought some one had played a joke upon her in giving her the idea that he believed in such quackery; that such a person as Professor Gregory might believe in it, but that he did not. She heroically replied that Professor Gregory was an honest man, and, as such, had found himself under the necessity of examining the subject and announcing his conviction of its truth.

The public know the ridiculous figure that medical men at Bristol have cut in eagerly announcing the discovery of imaginary organized bodies in the case of cholera, and their contest for priority in discovering what never existed and establishing the fungoid theory. Yet these very men refuse to examine obvious facts, and facts of the highest practical importance. A young surgeon read a case of great mesmeric benefit, at the Medical Meeting at Bristol. Dr. Budd,* who was so cruelly nipped by the further researches of Mr. Busk and other able men, rose and protested against mesmerism being introduced to the notice of the association. One surgeon, now in the council of the association, told him, as they were driving to the meeting, that he ought to be kicked out of the association for introducing the subject to it.

In a dreadful case of cancer, in a west of England city, when the medical men procured no relief, her brother-in-law procured her tranquil sleep, but the whole had to be kept a secret from the doctors, who violently opposed the employment of mesmerism.†

But enough of all this. May the rising generation of medical men remember the words of the late Rev. Dr. Chalmers respecting the first reception of the Newtonian Philosophy,

"AUTHORITY scowled upon it, TASTE was disgusted by it, and FASHION was ashamed of it."‡

Let them think also of the following paragraph in Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's late powerful and elevated novel of *The Caxtons*,—

" 'Know thyself,' said the old philosopher. 'Improve thyself,' saith the new. He (Vivian) still fancies that all he has to do is to

* A physician among that family of Budds, and resident at Plymouth or Exeter, returned to the late Mr. Bulteel, son-in-law of the late Earl Grey, my pamphlet on Painless Operations unopened, refusing to read it. Another, in London, loudly condemned in the College of Physicians my being allowed to deliver the Harveian Oration, and he has thus secured posthumous fame.

† A retired physician wrote this to me upon the affair:—"What a monstrous thing it is, that such prejudice and moral cowardice should stand between suffering humanity and a remedy designed by heaven to mitigate pain! 'It is,' as my correspondent justly remarks, 'a great thing even to ease a patient of extreme pain without having recourse to medicines.'"

‡ See my *Human Physiology*, p. 397.

get money and power, and some of those empty prizes in the great lottery, which are often won more easily by *our sins than our virtues*."

I am anxious to make a few observations to the public on the choice of mesmerisers. A very large number of those who profess to mesmerise do not a hundredth part of the good they might, and thus injure individual patients and the progress of the subject. It is difficult to find a professed mesmeriser who gives me satisfaction. Too many are full of whims of their own and act the quack, talking as if possessed of extraordinary knowledge, making all sorts of displays in their methods, in fact, playing all sorts of antics, and talking all sorts of nonsense. Many of my patients have been made so nervous by these mesmerisers as to be unable to continue to employ them. Some thoughtlessly talk all the time. Now a good mesmeriser works in silence, and allows no talking in the room, nor anything else that can excite the patient. The passes should be made very slowly, or they may excite rather than calm, and may prevent sleep. The mesmeriser should look earnestly at the patient, and be absorbed in the attempt to produce a silent influence. It is in general best to persevere with one method, for the diversifying the attempt is very likely to excite the curiosity and wonder of the patient and prevent repose. One sort of passing, or mere pointing, or gazing, may, for some unknown reason, suit one patient better than another: but, when a patient, by mere continuance of attempts, has become affected, the method employed at the moment of success is likely from association to be afterwards, at least for a long while, far more effectual, if not even exclusively effectual, than others. I would not allow a patient of mine to be mesmerised by one who, while the process is going on, talks at all,* or laughs, or makes quick passes, snaps his fingers, makes flourishes, or plays any monkey tricks; or is careless and listless. All should be done calmly and even solemnly: for mesmerism is a serious, holy thing. There is no occasion to hold the hands, or sit with knees against knees; or in general to touch the patient at all. And all may be done as well by the operator standing to one side of the patient as opposite. There is no occasion for the operator to vibrate his hands or head, or make any muscular effort. The best mesmerisers are those who do all quietly and gently.

Some persons, whom I have recommended as mesmerisers,

* When sleep-waking is induced, a pleasant, or even lively, conversation is generally very useful.

have taken the liberty of passing an opinion upon the medical treatment which I had prescribed at the same time; or, where there was no other treatment, of suggesting medical treatment. One person, quite ignorant of medicines, took the liberty of applying leeches when exhaustion forbade any such measures: one introduced a foreigner to assist her in mesmerising, who was a linendraper in Brussels and passed himself off as a doctor, and he mesmerised and prescribed. Some, instead of simply mesmerising, as I directed, introduced pretended clairvoyants, absolute impostors.* I advise all medical men to allow nothing of this sort when they employ mesmerisers. But, on the other hand, they should not interfere with the mesmeriser, or take any measures without conferring with him, provided they understand nothing of it and he is a fully informed and discreet mesmeriser.

Some amateur mesmerisers do injury to the cause by their want of perseverance. If they produce no benefit, or no sensible effect, in the first few trials, of perhaps only a quarter of an hour each, they give up the case. I wish such persons would never take a case in hand, because their failures must be very numerous, and the poor patient conceives that mesmerism, perhaps his last and only hope, is no remedy for him, and our adversaries register the more failures. In truth, mesmerism cannot be said to have failed under a trial of a year or more in chronic cases. Let no one mesmerise who is not prepared to give a daily trial of at least half an hour for many months or still longer.†

On the other hand, I must also entreat the afflicted never to begin mesmerism unless firmly resolved to give it a fair trial; and not to give it up because they are not better soon, or do not go to sleep. I often foolishly lose all patience with people, to whom I have explained the possibility of no effect

* I am satisfied that many clairvoyants are impostors: and many real clairvoyants impostors so far as to pretend they have the faculty in action when they have not. I place reliance on very few of them: so liable are they to deceive themselves, and so strong is the temptation to deceive others, from love of money or even mere vanity. If persons choose to take the chances of accuracy and error, they ought to pay: but why they should pay a medical or other man who keeps and lets out a poor clairvoyant, as Italian men keep and let out poor Italian boys, and pay him a fee, perhaps a sovereign, as well as five shillings to the clairvoyant who does the work, I know not. To let out clairvoyants is no very dignified occupation.

† I mesmerised Miss Bernal daily for nearly a year without producing sleep or other sensible effect, and did her no good whatever for months: yet I cured her triumphantly after the failures of a number of royal and fashionable practitioners had done her no good, but harm (*Zoist*, No. XVIII.) Let them remember that Mrs. Whately bestowed three years and a half upon her blind patient (No. XXV.) I bestowed above five years upon my case of cancer (No. XXIII.)

occurring for a length of time, and of benefit without sleep, returning or writing to me in a few days with a declaration that, as they felt nothing, they should not continue it. Some go about saying they cannot be sent to sleep because Mr. Somebody tried one day without effect. If a complaint is worth the trouble of curing, it is worth the trouble of submitting to a remedy causing neither pain nor annoyance, but requiring merely perseverance. Some give up in a few weeks or months. It is surprising how many persons in the world have no force of character: are only big children—holding silly opinions on various subjects of which they know nothing, and acting without reason or steadiness.

IV. *Cases of Insanity, severe Nervous Affections, Hypochondriasis, Deafness, &c.* By HENRY STORER, M.D., Bristol, Physician to the Bristol Mesmeric Institute.

"It is with mingled regret and pity that we now receive Dr. Herbert Mayo's admission of the so called *truth* of mesmerism. We cannot but feel a degree of doubt of the vigour of a mind once accustomed to the serious investigation of the sciences of physiology and pathology. We cannot but lament that the author should be content to throw away a well-earned reputation by the advancing of the claims of such things as mesmerism and hydropathy."—*London Medical Gazette*, Oct. 12, 1849, p. 63.

Hypochondriasis.

I was consulted in 1847 by the friends of a lady suffering from aberration of mind. She was predisposed to it, had been in a private asylum, and was about being placed there again. But a friend of the family, who had received great benefit from mesmerism, strongly urged a trial of it.

At my first interview I found her in an extremely irritable state, with great depression of spirits and restlessness; she could get no sleep except by *snatches*; and there was an approach to imbecility. She had little idea of, and much less faith in, mesmerism; but, since I had been introduced as a friend, she was not at all adverse to my attendances. I mesmerised her at first for a month daily, and, though very little outward effect was induced, she, after a few days, became more *generally* composed, and often remained so for nearly an hour after the sitting, and continued also more tranquil during the intervals of my visits.

From the second month she was mesmerised every alternate day, and by the end of that time a deeper state was induced; and she then became slightly impressible to phrenomesmerism. By the middle of the third month I availed myself of this increased power, and was enabled to excite several organs; and this circumstance, I believe, most ma-

terially facilitated her comparatively rapid recovery. Thus, as she was usually much depressed, had no confidence in her own resources, and was very suspicious and over anxious, as is usual in the disease, I now acted specially on particular organs, such as Hope, Mirthfulness, Firmness, and the entire moral region. I could, both singly and collectively, induce a decided manifestation in these various organs. There were others, such as Caution and Combativeness, which I endeavoured to repress by a reverse action or partial demesmerising.

I generally left her in hope and mirthfulness, and I have known the effects continue until the next visit. Sleep* was now quite restored, and at the same time nearly all the previous irritability was removed. After the third month I only saw this lady occasionally, but mesmerism was still continued by a friend of the family.

She now began to think herself quite well, and was considered so by her family. She would, however, feel worse at times, particularly under excitement, but a little additional mesmerism soon relieved her.

By the end of six months I viewed her as entirely convalescent, and she has from that period to this remained nearly in the same state.

Hypochondriasis.

Also in 1847, I was consulted by a clergyman whose case was considered by his ordinary attendants as hypochondriasis. There existed the usual depression of spirits, extreme wakefulness, with a thorough and morbid distrust of himself.

I was informed that he had been out of health for the last three years, had been obliged to resign his clerical duties, and had sought in vain the aid of the most eminent of the profession. These means failing, he was advised to travel, and went to Baden Baden, and whilst there underwent the water treatment. This appeared for a short time to relieve, but not permanently. He returned to England, and came

* I have lately been reading Dr. Conolly's Lectures on Insanity, and I think the great merit of them consists in the modesty—pretended or real, I know not—of his admission, that, literally speaking, he and the profession knew comparatively nothing of the subject. Dr. Conolly, however, admits that one of the earliest symptoms, and one to be most feared, is wakefulness and want of natural sleep. Opiates, he thinks, do more harm than good; and of so simple and potent a means as mesmerism he professes to be entirely ignorant. Is such a man qualified for his present position? I believe that, with mesmerism fairly introduced and practised in our public and private asylums, we should in a few years have half of the patients set free. But that tyrant Prejudice has yet to be overcome. I would strongly advise Dr. Conolly, who went out of his way a short time since to repudiate his belief in mesmerism, to turn his attention to the subject even thus late. It is impossible for him to do full justice to patients so afflicted without the aid of this valuable auxiliary.

to Bath, where I was first consulted. His wife told me that they had been advised to try mesmerism as a last resource. His own account of his feelings was very desponding. He assured me, that, though a clergyman, his promptings to self-destruction had been at times so strong that he thought he should some day yield to them.

I mesmerised him regularly for a month, and induced but a slight outward impression, though he thought himself, if anything, a little more composed. I continued mesmerism for another fortnight, when he fancied change of air would agree better. I advised him to try Clifton, and there I attended him, conjointly with another party, for nearly three months. By this time there was a decided improvement; and now, finding I had a slight control over some of the phrenological organs, I locally excited those, the excitement of which was calculated to do him good. By the continued appeal to Mirthfulness, and the entire moral region, I was enabled materially to assuage and gradually overcome his morbid feelings.

He became so sensible of these manipulations, that he often asked me to place my fingers or hand over certain portions of the head.

After the fourth month, he felt himself so much better that his lady thought that she would with some local assistance be able to carry out his cure. They returned home and steadily pursued mesmerism for two months longer. At the end of this time, nearly six months, the gentleman was enabled gradually to resume his duties, after an absence of three years; and I had an opportunity of hearing up to the middle of this year that he has remained in comparative health. When over fatigued or feeling at all depressed, he then resorts to mesmerism, which readily re-establishes him.

Hypochondriasis.

As an appendix to this case, being that of a clergyman, I may mention, that during last year I was consulted by a young clergyman, who had come to do duty in this vicinity. He stated that at times he was so very nervous that he often thought he should break down during the services. I advised him to lie by. He said it was impossible, as he had tried physic so long that he had exhausted his purse as well as his frame; but still if I thought mesmerism would do him good he would try it. I strongly recommended it, and he placed himself under my care for about ten weeks. The changes in his system were most satisfactory. He soon began to lose his morbid feelings, and, though obliged to continue his duties,

he could do so with far more ease and comfort : in fact he became gradually well. He has since been presented to a living, and hopes to be shortly able to give a more extended view of his own case for the benefit of other sufferers.

Extreme Nervous Affection with Deafness.

In Nov. 1848, I was consulted by a lady who had been suffering for many years from what was called nervous irritability, with *tic douloureux* chiefly affecting the face and temples. Her sight had become so much impaired that she could see nothing without the aid of glasses; the hearing likewise was so obtuse that she could scarcely distinguish sounds. She had usually been attended by the late Dr. Riley, who had more than once said that he believed he could do no farther good, and advised her to try mesmerism. I was soon afterwards consulted in the case. I found her slightly impressible to mesmerism, and by the end of a month was enabled so far to allay irritability that my visits were looked forward to with great satisfaction.

By the end of the second month the sight began to improve, and the floating objects which she described as impairing her vision gradually left her; as also did the pains of the face and temples. By steady perseverance, she began to feel so much better as to fully encourage a belief that she would ultimately be quite restored. By the third month her hearing was so improved that, during one of her sittings, she was suddenly aroused by a strange noise, as she described it; it was nothing more than the barking of a dog, that she had not heard for years.

She could now read without her glasses, hear very comfortably, and all her pains had nearly left her. I now ceased my attendances, though mesmerism was continued by her husband; but I have seen her at distant periods, and can aver that the general result has been so decided that she feels that, if any ailments arise which cannot easily be managed, she has only to have recourse to mesmerism to be relieved.

Nervous Irritability, Debility, with Deafness.

In Dec. 1848, I was consulted by a lady, at Clifton, the mother of a large family, who had been very unwell for some months, suffering from what is usually termed nervousness. She had access to the best advice, but not getting better was induced to try mesmerism.

She was only moderately susceptible to the influence, and did not believe that she had been at all affected; but, when

she was made acquainted that conversations had been held in her presence, and that I had left the room on three or four occasions without her knowledge, she admitted she must have been deceived. I mesmerised her *daily* for the first month; afterwards, three times a week; and then only twice a week. Good effects soon appeared. She slept better, her general irritability lessened, and her appearance was improved.

Whilst in attendance, my attention was directed to the hearing, which on one side was considered quite gone. By acting however locally, I was enabled so far to lessen the deafness, that at first she complained of sound as painful to her. By moderating this, she now heard distinctly, and up to my last enquiries continued to do so.

Three of the above cases it will be perceived have occurred in the families of clergymen. I regret that peculiar circumstances prevent my giving names; but any parties with a truth-seeking motive may have any fuller corroboration they require.

To the clergy we are now much indebted, and I feel assured that, before long, mesmerism will stand so well, that they will feel no difficulty in allowing their cases to be substantiated with their names.

V. Review of "*Illustrations and Enquiries relating to Mesmerism*, Part I., by the Rev. S. R. MAITLAND, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., some time Librarian to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and Keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth. London: William Stephenson."—pp. 82.

Dr. Maitland, a gentleman already known in the literary world, has published a pamphlet on the subject of Mesmerism, some notice of which may perhaps be acceptable to our readers.

The author is a person of undoubted learning and ingenuity; and he is also, in his notions on this subject especially, what some would call original, and others perhaps odd; delighting to take a different view from what has occurred or was likely to occur to any other mortal.

He is not one of those who deride all the accounts of mesmeric phenomena as impostures or idle fancies: nor, again, is he one of the *Diabolists*;—viz. those who coolly refer to the agency of foul fiends whatever they dislike and cannot explain: and yet he condemns all employment of mesmerism on the ground of a prohibition in Scripture; *i.e.*, in the MOSAIC LAW, which he seems to regard as binding on all the Christian World!

The pamphlet begins with the descriptions of several re-

markable cases which have from time to time been brought before the public, of the curative and other effects of mesmeric influence. The author, though not pledging himself for the correctness of the accounts given, yet seems far from regarding them with incredulity.

Among the cases to which public attention has been called, though a considerable number relate to somnambulism and clairvoyance, these, as is well known, are but a small proportion compared with those in which no such phenomena have occurred, and in which the mesmeric agency has operated only in the removal or mitigation of pain or disease. Mesmerism however, cannot, according to Dr. Maitland, be *divided*. It must be either wholly allowable or wholly unlawful. On this principle, if there be *any* mode of employing Gunpowder, or Alcohol, Opium, Lytta, and other such drugs, that is permitted or is reprobated, the permission, or the condemnation, must extend to *every* mode of employing those agents. This, we apprehend, is one of Dr. Maitland's points of originality, or at least of singularity.* For most persons consider that it makes all the difference whether gunpowder be used for blasting rocks or for murdering men; and whether opium or other powerful drugs be employed to cure disease, or to destroy life, or produce stupefaction, or other still worse effects.

He next proceeds to prove (?), by an examination of certain Hebrew roots, that the "witchcraft" (so called in our translation of the Old Testament)† and the employment of what are called "familiar Spirits," which was forbidden to the Israelites, were neither more nor less than mesmeric clairvoyance.

He denies the comparatively modern notions of witches making compacts with evil spirits, and employing their services: though these notions (whenever they arose) certainly prevailed in those Ages to which Dr. M. is supposed to look back with regretful veneration. The charges of witchcraft brought against Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, and others long before her time, are among the instances.

* Among other Singularities, Dr. M. declares that he never could meet with persons who had dreamed (except in the mesmeric sleep) that they were eating or drinking! If he has really any curiosity on the subject, he has only to read some of the many published narratives of shipwrecked mariners and others, who have been exposed to famine. It is generally mentioned that they were perpetually haunted by such dreams. But even with those not so circumstanced, these dreams are very common, as he may ascertain if he will make *bona fide* inquiries among his neighbours.

† The word which in the New Testament (Epistle to the Galatians) is rendered "witchcraft," is *Pharmakeia*, evidently, "poisoning;" *Pharmaka* being the common word to denote noxious drugs.

However, for the "wisdom of our ancestors" in these matters Dr. M. has no respect. And he does not seem to have much more for the belief of those whom Christians usually regard as Inspired Writers. On this last point, indeed, he is, whether designedly or accidentally, not very clear in his language. But the impression likely to be left on the minds of most of his readers, is, that he regards all that is said in Scripture of Demoniactal Agency, of whatsoever kind, as either a mistake of the Writers, or else a condescension to popular prejudice ;—a practice of that kind of "pious fraud" which the modern Tractite-School call *Phenakism*. The damsel at Philippi, for instance, possessed by "a spirit of divination," he plainly seems to consider as nothing more than a Clairvoyant Somnambulist. And all the arts of Magic, Witchcraft, &c.—so called—which we find mentioned or alluded to in ancient writers, sacred or profane, he considers as no other than mesmeric phenomena.

This conclusion rests on the supposed etymology of the Hebrew word אֵשֶׁבֶת, (rendered, in our version a "familiar spirit,") which he conjectures, from similarity of sound, to be derived from a root signifying to "will." This he confirms from the procedure of the Septuagint-Translators, (who were influenced, very likely, by the same supposed etymology,) in their rendering of the word which is, in our Version, "dealers with familiar spirits," by a word derived from a corresponding Root in Greek.

The Septuagint-Translators have also, Dr. Maitland remarks, applied to those pretending to, or influenced by, magical arts, the title of "engastrimuthoi," literally "Ventriloquists :—" and this, in his opinion, identifies these with magnetized patients, because some of these latter are reported to have appeared to speak from their stomachs. Hence it is inferred (though without directly claiming infallibility for the Septuagint translators) that the "witchcraft"—so called—or "dealing with familiar spirits," which was forbidden to the Israelites, was the mesmeric process by which the WILL of the Mesmeriser gains a control over that of his patient.

The influencing of the "will" by the arts of persuasion, which has, in all ages, been the aim of the Orator, Dr. M. does not advert to at all : so that whether *this* was prohibited, or not, in the Mosaic Law, he leaves undecided. But that the influence exercised by a *Mesmeriser's* "will" was the "Witchcraft," or "Magic," or "dealing with familiar spirits," which was forbidden in that Law, is evidently his decision : and moreover (2) that the prohibition is binding on Christians ; and (3) that it must be understood as extending to *all* em-

ployment of mesmerism, even in cases where the "will" is not at all concerned.

The whole process of reasoning, therefore, which in this pamphlet is diffused through several chapters, may be compressed and summed up in a kind of sorites; which would make Archbishop Whately's or Mr. Mill's hair stand on end. Let us suppose a person disposed to try the effect of mesmeric treatment on a patient,—perhaps some dear relative or friend—labouring under blindness, or some other disease, which has baffled medical skill: he is to reason thus;—

"One use of mesmerism is likely to benefit this case: but *another* kind of application of it *may possibly* be the AUB which was forbidden in the Mosaic Law: and *some* of the precepts of that Law are binding on all men: therefore it is probable than any use of mesmerism is forbidden to Christians. Q.E.D.

"Therefore my parent or my child shall be left in blindness, or die in lingering pain, rather than be *so* relieved, for fear of displeasing Him who said, 'I was sick and ye ministered unto me: . . . forasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren ye did it unto me.'"

Now is all this meant seriously, or merely as a *jeu d'esprit*, designed to shew how ingeniously a paradox may be maintained? And is it worthy of a serious examination?

This latter question has caused us some perplexity, on remembering the ridicule to which Seneca was exposed for undertaking a serious refutation of the paradox put forth by some of his Stoical predecessors, that "the Cardinal Virtues were Animals."

But we have come to the conclusion that though Dr. Maitland probably *began* with no other thought than of making a trial of his skill, and a display of his learning, it is not unlikely that he *ended* by being himself entangled in the meshes of his own ingenuity; and that it is probable some of his readers may be entangled along with himself. If any of them were to cast his eye over a publication which has been pretty generally known for the last 30 years, the *Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte*, he would perceive that a far stronger case is there made out against the existence of that illustrious personage, than by Dr. M. against the lawfulness of the employment of Mesmerism. But in the one case there is, and in the other there is not, a strong prejudice on the side of the paradox. We will therefore offer a few remarks on Dr. Maitland's theory.

It rests on the interpretation (an interpretation which has escaped all the learned for twenty or thirty centuries) of a Hebrew word; which again rests on the etymology of this word; and that again, on a similarity of sound.

Now of the mistakes in etymology which have been made, even by persons not destitute of intelligence, and of the erroneous notions based on such mistakes, numerous examples might be given. Josephus notices one; that of an ancient writer who says that Jerusalem ("Hierosolyma") derived its name from its being decorated with the spoils of heathen temples, and was originally called *Hierosyla*, "temple-plunder."

Again, the English word "Causeway"—more properly "Causey," as being manifestly the French *Chausée*, a bank,—I have known pronounced, and even spelt, by educated persons "crossway," from their mistake as to the origin of the word.

Gilly-flower, again, some persons consider as so called, *quasi* *July-flower*; though certainly its blooming in the most flowery month of the year is no such *distinction* as to be likely to give rise to its name; since the same would suit most of the flowers of our gardens. In reality it is named from its odour, from the French "*Gilofre*," (often so written by old writers for "*girofle*,") a "clove," apparently a derivative of "*Caryophyllus*."

Again, a well-known tenant of our poultry-yards is supposed by some to have been originally brought from the Country called Turkey; though in reality it is indigenous in America alone, and derives its name, doubtless, from its own call of "turk, turk."

In old English again,—for instance, in the prayer-book version of the Psalms—"runnagate" is written for "renegade," (which is the Spanish "Renegado,"—one who has renounced his faith,) on the supposition, apparently, that it meant "*run-away*,"—"fugitive."

And many other instances might be given.

How unsafe must it be therefore to build important practical conclusions on etymologies of a language like the Hebrew, of which we have such scanty remains; while of the contemporary languages and dialects of the neighbouring nations, (from which several of their terms may have been derived) we know absolutely nothing!

However, let us for argument's sake suppose Dr. Maitland's hypothesis to be demonstrably established: let it be supposed that this puzzling word *AUB* was understood by the ancient Hebrews as applicable to persons who were in reality (though not then known to be) mesmeric clairvoyants, or their mesmerizers: what is the inference? That the *Mosaic Law* forbade application to be made to them. The next enquiry evidently is, whether this law is binding on *us*.

In this enquiry Dr. Maitland affords us no help whatever.

But we presume that he, in common with nearly all other Christians for the last seventeen centuries, does *not* consider the Mosaic Law as of universal and perpetual obligation. He cannot maintain at least that the Christian church requires abstinence from swine's-flesh and other meats, forbidden to the Jews; or prohibits the sowing of a field with divers kinds of seeds; or requires a childless widow to marry her deceased husband's brother; or forbids a man to sell his land in perpetuity, &c. Yet on all these points the Mosaic Law contains precepts not resting on any newly discovered interpretation of some doubtful word, but perfectly plain to all, and about whose signification there never has been any question. But it is generally agreed among Christians, that, though "no man is exempt from obedience to those commands which are called '*moral*,' the obligation extends no further." And if it be inquired *what* are "*moral precepts*," the obvious answer must be, that we are to judge by the light of Reason what things are right or wrong in themselves, independently of any special injunction. Murder for instance, and Theft, and False Witness, we are bound to abstain from because morally wrong, even though it had not been noticed in the Mosaic Law. Anything, again, which is *not* morally wrong, (such as wearing garments of mixed stuff, or eating Swine's flesh,) is allowable, even though forbidden to the Jews.

If therefore Dr. Maitland can prove mesmerism to be an evil in itself, he will have proved that it ought not to be practised, even supposing that *Aub* had nothing to do with it. If he can *not* prove this, then, even supposing the Mosaic Law does forbid it to the Jews, this does not concern us Gentiles. So that on either supposition, the whole of his ingenious theory,—even if based not on doubtful interpretations but on demonstrable truths,—would *go for nothing*. In the one case it would be *superfluous*; in the other, *foreign* to the real question.

As for the particular reasons for forbidding to the Israelites several things which are, to all appearance, in themselves indifferent, most men who possess a fair share of good sense and of modesty acknowledge that in many instances they can give no explanation. And it would be absurd to suppose that each Mosaic ordinance is binding on us *till* we can shew both what were the reasons for the enactment, and that those reasons no longer exist. But in the present instance there seems no reason to doubt that the persons (whether Jews or Heathen) who practised and who resorted to "*Witchcraft*,"—"*Magic*,"—"Aub," or by whatever other name we may denote forbidden arts, did consider themselves as employing the agency

of Demons;—of Beings called Gods, and worshipped by the heathen, quite distinct from Jehovah the God of the Jews. Now supposing that no such beings ever did really afford any aid to these Aubite-magicians, their idolatry,—since all sin consists in the *intention*—was precisely the same. When a king of Israel was rebuked for “sending to consult the oracle of Baalzebub, the god of Ekron,” every child can understand that the sin consisted not in his *obtaining* a response from a real god at Ekron, but in his *seeking* it.

So also, in the case of the Soothsaying damsel at Philippi already referred to; the people manifestly *believed* her possessed with a demon, to whose aid they *intended* to resort. Dr. Maitland seems to think that they were mistaken; and that Paul and Luke either partook of the delusion, or connived at it. But this makes no difference as to the reality of the popular belief and intention.

And the church again, which, in the times referred to by Dr. M. denounced witchcraft, did so, evidently, under the conviction that it *was* a resort to the agency of evil spirits.

Even supposing, therefore, that it were proved that all the cases of Magic, Witchcraft, &c., on record were in reality mesmeric, we can perfectly understand the reason of the prohibitions given to the Jews. It was designed to put down all attempts to resort to the aid of demons. Whether the attempt were successful or not,—whether the demons were real or imaginary—makes no difference as to the moral character of what was forbidden. And the reason of the prohibition no longer exists, when men have ceased to believe in or to attempt anything of the kind. No one would now scruple to ornament his furniture with a brazen figure of a serpent; because there is no danger now of its being an object of idolatrous worship, like the brazen serpent which king Hezekiah (very wisely and rightly) “broke in pieces.”

The only suggestion thrown out by Dr. Maitland that at all affects the real question—that as to the allowableness at the present day of employing the powers of mesmerism—is, that it is a very powerful agent, which *may* be abused to bad purposes. He remarks on the observation of Dr. Elliotson, as to the harmlessness of mesmerism “unless” practised improperly; and exclaims, “What an *unless*!” He might equally exclaim respecting an “unless” in many other matters also. A Lunatic Asylum is a good thing, *unless* the patients are treated cruelly, or sane persons confined there. Opium is a valuable medicine, *unless* taken imprudently, or administered for the purpose of stupifying the victims of robbers. Steam-carriages are good, *unless* through negligence, they are driven off the

rails, or the boilers burst. Government is a good thing, *unless* the governors oppress and rob their subjects. And Printing is a useful art, *unless* authors of more cleverness than discretion publish pamphlets calculated to mislead or perplex their readers. In short, there is no power, instrument, or institution possessed by man to which the same objection would not apply.

What then is the practical inference Dr. M. would draw? Is it, that our rulers should pass a law to prohibit Mesmerism, Lunatic Asylums, the use of potent Drugs, Railroads, &c.; and lastly, (by a suicidal ordinance), Government itself? For all these things are manifestly liable to very great and mischievous abuse. Or is it this; that, since bad men may make a hurtful use of mesmerism, therefore it should be left *entirely in the hands of bad men*, by an agreement and combination among all the best men to have nothing to do with it? One can hardly suppose him to have deliberately adopted either of these conclusions; and yet there appears no other practical conclusion to which his observations can tend.

The truth is, probably, that, as we formerly observed, he set out without *any* definite design at all, except to exercise his ingenuity and display his erudition; and that he ended in being himself bewildered.

But be this as it may,—whether he has been throughout in earnest or in jest,—it is much to be wished that he would hereafter confine the sports of his genius to subjects in which no practical evil is likely to result.

That will not have been the case in the present instance, if he shall have succeeded in influencing any one by what he has said. He will have done harm if he shall have succeeded in deterring some well-meaning but weak brethren from seeking relief from distressing maladies by means which the bounty of Providence has placed within their reach. He will have done harm if he shall have diminished the proportion of good men to bad among those who inquire into and endeavour to control an agent powerful for good or for evil. And he will have done harm in representing the Most High as requiring us to be guided in our daily duty by a precept so expressed that only *one man* in all Christendom could guess at its meaning—even that one being able *only* to guess—this precept, moreover, occurring in a code of Laws generally understood to be not binding on Christians: and yet to be obeyed even in opposition both to the express injunctions of Christianity, and to the dictates of natural morality, which alike direct us to administer relief to the afflicted.

No more effectual way could he have taken to expose the religion he professes to odium and to scorn.

A. B.

VI. *A few of Mr. Capern's Cures.* Communicated by
Dr. Elliotson.

"If this be a real power, is it *natural or supernatural*? *Is it lawful or unlawful*, in whole or in part?" p. 598.

"If this act or power, in its different branches, can be applied to medicine or surgery, can this use of it be separated from other uses? and whether it can or cannot, is the *application a lawful one*?" p. 600.—*The British Magazine*, Nov., 1849. Review of Dr. Maitland's book by a friend of that gentleman.*

"Whilst I was removing these sculptures, Tahyar Pasha visited" "the ruins, and expressed no less wonder at the sculptures than the Arabs: *nor were his conjectures as to their origin and the nature of the subjects represented, much more rational than those of the sons of the desert.* The gigantic human-headed lions terrified, as well as amazed, his Osmanli followers. 'La Illahi il Allah,' (there is no God but God), was echoed from all sides. 'These are the idols of the infidels,' said one more knowing than the rest. 'I saw many such when I was in Italia with Reshid Pasha, the ambassador. Wallah, they have them in all the churches, and the Papas (priests) kneel and burn candles before them.' 'No, my lamb,' exclaimed a more aged and experienced Turk, 'I have seen the images of the infidels in the chambers of Beyoglu; they are dressed in many colours; and, although some of them have wings, none have a dog's body and a tail; these are the works of the Jin, whom the holy Solomon, peace be upon him, reduced to obedience and imprisoned under his seal.' 'I have seen something like them in your apothecaries' and barbers' shops,' said I, alluding to the well-known figures, half women and half lion, which is met with so frequently in the bazars of Constantinople. 'Istafer Allah!' (God forbid,) (piously ejaculated the Pasha, 'that is the sacred emblem of which true believers speak with reverence, and not the handy-work of infidels.' 'There is no infidel living,' exclaimed the engineer, who was looked up to as an authority on these subjects, 'either in Frangistan or in Yenghi Dunis (America), who could make anything like these; they are the work of the Majus (Magi), and are to be sent to England to form the gateway to the palace of the Queen.' 'May God curse all infidels and their works,' observed the cadi's deputy, who accompanied the Pasha, 'what comes from their hands is of Satan; it has pleased the Almighty to let them be more powerful and ingenious than the true believers in this world, that their punishment and the reward of the faithful may be greater in the next.'" vol. i., p. 141.

"When they beheld the head, they all cried together, 'There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.' It was some time before the Sheikh could be prevailed upon to descend into the pit and convince himself that the image was of stone. 'This is not the work of man's hand,' exclaimed he, 'but of those infidel giants of whom the prophet, peace be with him, has said, that they were higher than the tallest date-tree. Truly this is one of the idols which Noah, peace be with him, cursed before the flood. In this opinion, the result of a careful examination, all the bystanders concurred.'" vol. ii., pp. 67, 68. *Nineveh and its Remains.* By Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D.C.L.

THE *Zoist* for last July contained an account of a public meeting at Tiverton to investigate some of Mr. Capern's wonderful mesmeric cures. This modest and excellent man is really a modern Greatrakes, and like his predecessor has charged nothing for his labours, and has accepted a present in only a few

* What can have been the education of men, though at Oxford or Cambridge, who can ask such a childish question, as whether moving the hands up and down before a sick person, or upon an agonized part, and looking at him, and thus

instances. The whole of his cases, I understand, will bear the strictest investigation. He is about to publish about a hundred and forty of the most striking in a small book by subscription; and has kindly permitted me to forward the few following to *The Zoist*.

JOHN ELLIOTSON.

December 10th,
Conduit Street, London.

I. *Rheumatism.*

George Candy, lime burner, Ellmore, Tiverton, aged 55 years, was subject, from his twentieth year, to frequent attacks of rheumatism, suffering much pain and often disabled from following his occupation. On one of those occasions he had been three weeks on crutches, when he happened acci-

restoring ease and health, is natural or supernatural—miraculous, lawful or unlawful? Are men who ask such questions superior in information and intelligence to an old village nurse or even an untutored Indian? Can they be fit to instruct the people as ministers of religion, and point out the distinction of the miraculous characters of revelation from the stupendous universal laws of nature? But Dr. Maitland and his friend the reviewer consider such doating to be adopting the Bible, and philosophy to be founded on man instead of God: as though philosophy or science were anything else than the knowledge of the natural truths of the universe, inanimate, animate, and animal. Believers should hold it *sinful* to pretend to derive their own nonsensical opinions upon physical, historical, or moral matters from the Bible, and then attempt to damage the good name of others, not so ill informed or so weak as themselves, by accusing them of not adopting the Bible. Christ taught us to learn men from their works; and a Christian ought to learn nature from observing nature. Philosophy founded on man!

The Archbishop of Canterbury four hundred years ago would have dismissed a librarian so superstitious as to fancy mesmeric passes supernatural. He knew that—

"Miracles are ceased,
And therefore we must needs admit the means,
How things are perfected."

Archbishop of Canterbury, in King Henry V., Act 1, Sc. 1.

Had Dr. Maitland and his reviewer lived earlier, they would no doubt have considered the natural philosophy of Friar Bacon to be witchcraft and unlawful. I wonder they can stand the electric telegraph or a balloon.

The manual classes in our towns are far above such ignorance, and begin to look with contempt upon the teachers in Israel who write and discourse ignorance and superstition. Were Lord Bacon alive, he would still repeat what he said in his *Novum Organum*:—"Religion is full of *vile* suspicions and *imbecile* contempt of all the improvements and discoveries of philosophy," (vol. I., p. 89.)

Happily for us, we have clergymen who understand science, and, like Bishop Butler, acknowledge that Christianity is a republication of "natural religion in its genuine simplicity," and that "moral precepts are precepts the reason of which we see" and which "arise out of the nature of the case itself prior to external command." A life of usefulness and virtue—of true philosophy—is the best creed. An enlightened man, as Milton says of the divine spirit, prefers

"Before all temples the upright heart and pure."

JOHN ELLIOTSON.

dentally to meet with Mr. Capern, near a public house, above a quarter of a mile from his own residence. He requested Mr. Capern to try whether he could do him any good. Mr. C. consented, and went with him into the parlour of the public house, and commenced the usual passes. He felt *some immediate relief whilst this was being done*, and, as he was proceeding homewards, he *recovered suddenly the full use of his limbs, and was able to walk with ease and comfort to his own house, carrying his crutches in triumph over his shoulders*. He contracted a cold in consequence of imprudent exposure, and had a return of the pain in his ancles, and was entirely confined to his bed for five or six weeks, unable to lift a limb owing to the great suffering caused by the least motion. He was under *constant medical treatment*, but experienced *little or no relief* from the remedies employed. His bill for medicines and attendance amounted to £5 14s. At the end of the period named, he again had recourse to Mr. Capern, and, after several operations, his health was entirely *restored*, and he has never had a return of the complaint since, with the exception of a slight pain in the knee, immediately removed by a few passes from Mr. Capern. He is *now quite well*, and to all appearance a hale, healthy, and exceedingly active man. It is nearly three years since the first cure was effected, and about four or five months since he was the second time relieved.

II. Rheumatism.

William Middle, of Cullompton, painter and glazier, had been afflicted with rheumatic gout from *ten to twelve years*, during one half of which time he was disabled from working at his trade. He first applied to Mr. Capern on Sunday, September 9th, being then unable to move his leg except by taking hold of it or raising it with both his hands; with this precaution the movement caused pain. He rose from his chair with difficulty, and usually only after many ineffectual attempts to do so: his nights were almost sleepless, and he had very little appetite. He had only left his bed, where he had been confined for *eight weeks*, the Thursday previous, and from the immense swelling of the knee, the general prostration of strength, with the intense pain which he suffered, he believed that he would be altogether disabled from work for the future. He could not walk, without assistance, beyond the threshold of his door. His only mode of getting up stairs was to rest one knee upon the step above him, then drag the affected leg after it. Standing for any time, or any exertion, caused great exhaustion and a copious sweating. For the

last twelve months he had been unable to pull off his stockings without assistance, and for six months to lift his leg on the bed. When he retired to rest his stockings were always pulled off, and his leg raised and laid on the bed for him by his wife or some other person. A little girl was sent with him to Tiverton for the express purpose of performing those accustomed services; but her aid was never required, as after the first mesmerisation he was able to manage without any difficulty. During his illness, he had had the benefit of the advice of *five or six* medical men, and tried a *variety of remedies without effect*. Contact passes with the flat of the hand were made over the left shoulder and arm for about seven minutes, and then in the same manner down the leg and the affected side. He soon felt an unusual glow of heat, and in about *TWELVE MINUTES after the commencement of the treatment was relieved from all pain and able to move his leg freely, and even to lift and place it with ease upon the table before him*. On the same afternoon he walked more than a mile without the assistance of a stick with no pain and with more ease and freedom than he had experienced for many years. There was an immediate improvement in his sleep and appetite. On going out into the air about twenty minutes after his first mesmerisation, he was suddenly seized with a violent shaking of the limbs and chattering of the teeth that lasted about half an hour, and then went off spontaneously. He continued to be mesmerised twice every day during his stay in Tiverton, and with rapid and decided improvement. On the *eighth day* he returned home *quite free from pain, with no stiffness of the limbs, and able to walk about all day without fatigue or sweating, or any inconvenience whatever*. His appetite was good, he slept long and soundly at night, and in fact there was nothing left of his former symptoms but the swelling of the knee, which, however, was much reduced; and it was his intention to resume his work on the following day.

III. Rheumatism.

Mrs. Mary Tapp, aged 60, was afflicted upwards of *fifteen* years with violent pains in the head, and severe rheumatic pains in the arms, hips, and thighs. During the whole of this period, she was never entirely free from pain. She was often unable to obtain any rest at night, in consequence of her sufferings, which were, at times, so severe as to oblige her to leave her bed, and endeavour to find relief in motion or change of position. She was rendered altogether incapable of any laborious exertion, and was unable to take any active part in the management of her farm-yard. Sometimes, for

weeks together, she suffered so much that she was unable to comb her hair or lace her stays without assistance. Happening to be accidentally at Mr. Capern's on some business when one of Mr. C's. patients was being mesmerised, and seeing the great relief afforded by the passes, she was induced to ask Mr. Capern to try what he could do for her. She had very little expectation of receiving benefit from his exertions, since, from her advanced age and the long duration of her sufferings, she had been led to look upon her case as hopeless. The *first* operation was followed by the *almost entire disappearance* of the pain in the limbs. She did not see Mr. Capern again until after an interval of some weeks, when, by the passes being made over the head, the pains in that part were *almost entirely removed*. Afterwards she was mesmerised three or four times, the passes being continued about ten or twelve minutes each time. She now considers herself *cured*. *She takes the active management of the farm-yard, performing the operation of milking her cows, which for many years she was totally unable to do.* She works and suffers no inconvenience from the exertion. There is still a certain degree of stiffness in the fingers and elbow-joint on the side which was principally affected. At most times, she is entirely free from pain, and although, when the weather is unfavourable, her old complaint does now and then return, the attacks are so slight that they do not interfere with her work, and she thinks little or nothing of them. It is now *three years* since the cure was effected.

IV. Rheumatism.

Statement of Mr. Edwards, Prospect Place, Tiverton.

"Francis Edwards, son of Phoceon Edwards, was suffering for four years frequent attacks of rheumatism in the knee and leg, and at times prevented from walking without the assistance of a stick. He applied various remedies without producing any beneficial result, and looked forward to his entire incapacity for labour or exertion, the disease appearing to gain the ascendancy until nearly three years since, when I named it to Mr. Capern, who unhesitatingly offered to use his exertions to relieve my son, assuring me that he had confidence in his powers. At the first mesmerisation, there was produced a genial comfortable heat, and an improvement; at the second, considerable progress was made in the right direction, and *after the third, there was a total and an entire alleviation of pain*, as well as an additional strength to that side of the body. This took place about *three years since*, and I have never heard him complain from that time. There had been a considerable

swelling of the knee that subsided, and previously to the first operation he could not walk up and down the stairs without assistance."

V. *Rheumatism.*

William Isaacs, carpenter, West Exe, Tiverton, in the employ of Messrs. Heathcoat & Co. He was suddenly seized in the autumn of 1847, while employed at the bench, with severe pains in the groin, that immediately extended to the foot. The pain near the knee was excruciating. He thought at first that it was caused by a splinter, but on examination it was proved that this was not the case. He was carried home by two men and put to bed: two surgeons were immediately called in, who advised his removal to the hospital. *The agonies he endured were fearful*; on one occasion, an attempt being made to move in his bed, he fainted with the pain. The leg and foot were enormously swelled, so much so that when he extended his leg straight before him he was unable to see his toes. This continued several weeks. The surgeons, believing there was a formation of matter, made an incision a little below the knee (or in the limb near the knee); a small quantity of matter then issued from the wound, but the operation afforded him no relief whatever. He was confined to his bed for nearly two months, during which time the pain was *most excruciating*. He had no rest whatever, he was nearly worn out for want of sleep, his appetite was gone, and he was reduced to a state of great weakness, *despairing of obtaining any relief from the surgeons*; and, being strongly advised by his friends to apply to Mr. Capern, he procured a pair of new crutches, and left his home for the purpose of going to Mr. Capern's residence. He was unable to put his foot to the ground, and it was only with great difficulty that he could manage to get along. Happening to meet Mr. Capern on the Exe bridge, he stated his object; Mr. C. invited him to turn back, and accompany him to the Swan—an inn not far from his own home. At the very first pass some sensations were experienced, and *in less than five minutes he was entirely free from pain*: he was delighted, and shouldered his crutches; and was so amazed at his sudden cure, that, without even awaiting to thank Mr. Capern, he *ran off to the workshop*, where he made his appearance to the great astonishment of his fellow-workmen, who knew the state to which he had been reduced. From his workshop he proceeded to the club-house, where he gave notice of his intention to relinquish his sick pay. This was on a Friday, and on the following Monday he was in full work. *He has never had a return of the pain, or*

lost a day's work since. At the time of his application to Mr. Capern, he had *no faith* whatever in mesmerism.

An outline of this case appeared in *The Zoist* for July last.

VI. Neuralgic Pains.

John Crook, mason, aged 49 years, caught a chill through working in an oven, and was ill for nearly *five years*: for *two years and a quarter of the time he was under treatment by the medical officers of the Exeter hospital*, both as an in and out patient; he was an *in-patient twelve months*, when, finding that he was *no better*, he left the institution and returned to Tiverton. On his return home he felt some improvement, which induced him to resume work: but he was unable to complete even one week of labour. On the sixth day he suddenly became so ill that he was obliged to be assisted home by two of his fellow-workmen. With the exception of not quite six days, on this occasion, he was unable to do a stroke of work during the whole period of his illness. Becoming worse and worse, he placed himself under the care of the parish doctor; but there was *no improvement*. After an absence of about four or five months, he returned to the hospital at Exeter. While there, he was in a most pitiable state; he suffered *extreme pain over almost the whole body; even with crutches he was unable to move about, or go up and down stairs without assistance*. He lost strength and flesh, became extremely weak and emaciated, and had little or no appetite. Despairing of ever getting better, he at length returned home. His neighbours all thought that he was a dying man, and that in a few weeks he would be in his grave. A person with whom he had formerly worked had several times invited him down to his house, which is situated at some distance from his own residence. After having several times refused, he at length, with the assistance of two men, managed to make his way down to her; she strongly advised him to apply to Mr. Capern, of whose mesmeric cures he had never heard before. Mr. Capern, happening just then to pass the door, was invited to come in, and at once commenced the usual manipulations. Almost at the very first pass the patient felt a strong sensation of warmth, and in a few minutes he was *almost entirely free from pain*; at the conclusion of the operation *he walked home without assistance in perfect ease*, carrying his crutches over his shoulders. On his way homewards he felt somewhat drowsy, and, on his reaching his own house, felt so irresistible an inclination to sleep, that he threw himself upon the bed, and slept uninterruptedly for *sixteen hours*. During the eight weeks previous he had not, he declares, had an hour's sleep.

His wife was so alarmed at the length of his nap, that she called in her neighbours, one after the other, to try to awake him; but their efforts were in vain. He awoke spontaneously, greatly refreshed and *quite free from pain*. The operation was repeated, but not every day, for ten or twelve weeks. *His recovery was rapid*: in *eleven* weeks he increased in weight *forty-two* pounds. In five or six weeks after his first application to Mr. Capern, he was able to do a little work: in ten or twelve weeks he was in full employ, and not many weeks afterwards he was not only able to do a good day's work, but to walk five miles to his labour and five miles back every day in the depth of winter, and over one of the worst roads in the county. He is now as strong and well as he ever was in his life. It is nearly three years since his cure was effected. *He was told at Exeter by the surgeons of the hospital, that he would never be able to do a day's work again.* During the last eight weeks of the two years and a quarter that he was a patient of the hospital, he drank sixteen quarts of oil.

J. CROOK.

Mem.—During the treatment of this case, the patient experienced at one time considerable pain in the leg. By way of experiment, I made the passes through an iron of two-pounds weight, which I held with my left hand over the seat of the pain at the distance of two or three inches. Before this, the passes had invariably caused a strong sensation of warmth, but on this occasion intense cold was felt in the part immediately under the iron, extending quite through the limb, and diffused over a space exactly corresponding to the size of the weight. Nothing that the patient could do produced any warmth in the part; he sometimes stood holding the limb so close to the fire as to singe his clothes, without the sensation of cold being in the least diminished, and the passes which I made were equally ineffective. After this had continued two or three weeks, I one day tried the experiment of making the passes through a heated body,—a piece of marble, about an inch and a half thick, held over the part, and the sense of cold instantaneously disappeared. Mr. Crook appears to be extremely susceptible to the influence of metals and crystals. A piece of silver being drawn a few days since over the hand in the manner mentioned by Reichenbach, he felt very considerable pain down the arm, particularly at the elbow joint. The same result took place when a piece of rock crystal was substituted for the silver. A few passes removed the pain.

THOMAS CAPERN.

A brief outline of this case appeared in *The Zoist* for July last.

VII. *Nervous Affection ; with pain.*

Statement received from Mrs. Wilson, Fore Street, Tiverton.

"Harriett Cornish, when in a mesmeric sleep, told me, in answer to Mr. Capern, that my complaint was entirely on the nerves, that no medicine would do me any good, but that Mr. Capern could cure me by making passes, which she described. She also told me I was suffering severely in the face and head ; that the pain which I felt in my ears was occasioned by the weakness of the nerves, and that there was something in Mr. Beedell's shop which would effect a cure, if I would send for a pennyworth : this something was in a small bottle on the fourth shelf on the left-hand side going into the parlour, that it was the fourth bottle ; that there were three other bottles of the same in different parts of the shop, and that they were not marked. I was to drop one drop on a little bit of wadding, and put in each ear ; then wrap my face in flannel, which would be the better if Mr. C. would mesmerise it, and to drink, as soon as I awoke, mesmerised water, which would strengthen me. I sent for the drug according to her description, and applied it with success, being *much relieved within five minutes.*

"I have now been under Mr. Capern's care for a fortnight, and with feelings of the deepest gratitude I confess the effects of his passes have been *almost miraculous* on me. As mine was entirely a disorder of the nervous system, medical advice was of no avail, whereas the *mesmeric passes have sustained me, I may say, with comfort through a time of great trial and vexation, the contemplation of which at times nearly disordered my intellect.* I am much stronger both in body and mind, and my only regret at leaving Tiverton is, that I shall be deprived of his kind attention. I take this opportunity of assuring Mr. C. that I shall always feel the deepest gratitude towards him, as I am well assured that he has been the means, under a merciful Providence, of saving my life.

"EMMA WILSON.

"Tiverton, Sept. 29th, 1849."

VIII. *Nervous Affection ; with noises in the head.*

Mary Land, of Bampton Street, aged about 70 years, was afflicted for many years (thinks about fifteen) with *dreadful* noises in the head attended with pain, which rendered her life *completely miserable, and almost drove her distracted.* She states that it is impossible to describe these noises, as they were entirely different from anything else she has ever heard in her life. Although she was never wholly free from them

at any time, they occurred with increased violence when she was in bed, and were always worse every other night. The terror and distraction which they occasioned were often so extreme that she would *scream at intervals the whole night through so loudly, the policemen on duty have occasionally come in to enquire what was the matter.* She declares that on these occasions nothing whatever, no dread even of instant death, could have kept her quiet. Her nights were almost sleepless, and every other night she was certain to get no rest whatever; at times she was unable to remain in her bed from the dreadful annoyance caused by the noises, but was obliged to get up and walk about the room, even in the coldest night of winter. She speaks of her sufferings as extreme; she knew not what it was to enjoy ease and comfort, or to be a moment free from anxiety, since she was never safe from an attack, and never knew when the noises might come on with violence. Her mind was so much affected, that *the parish authorities had it in view to send her to a lunatic asylum.* Her memory was also greatly impaired; so that, during the period of her illness, she was unable to keep an exact account of time, and cannot state with any degree of certainty what was the duration of her sufferings. She was incapable of occupying herself with reading, of which she had previously been very fond. She consulted *three physicians and three surgeons,* but *without the least benefit* being obtained. She believed that it would have been impossible for her to have borne her sufferings much longer, and that very soon she must either have gone mad, or sunk under them and died. Shortly before the noises came on she had had rheumatic fever and nervous fever, and also been subject to *tic douloureux.* At length she was advised by a friend to apply to Mr. Capern, but was very reluctant to do so. Nevertheless Mr. Capern went to see her, and commenced operating upon her daily, and for *three weeks no effect* resulted from the treatment. She frequently urged him not to trouble himself any more about her, as she felt persuaded that all his exertions for her relief would be in vain. After three weeks she felt what she called a creeping sensation in her head when the passes were made over it. The violent attacks began to occur less frequently and to diminish in intensity. The improvement was slow and gradual. For three months she was mesmerised daily, and afterwards less frequently for some time longer. She now considers herself cured; for, although she is still subject to an almost constant singing in the ears, this, in comparison with the old noises, she looks upon as only a trifling inconvenience. Her life is comfortable and easy; and she is again able to employ herself

in reading; she speaks of her recovery and of Mr. Capern's kind attention in the warmest terms of gratitude.

IX. Neuralgic Pains.

Mr. Samuel Doble, whitesmith, Gold Street, about 24 years since received a blow on the left leg by a heavy sledge hammer wielded by one of his fellow-workmen. The small bone of the leg was broken, and inflammation of the part subsequently began: a few months after he was attacked by pains in the same limb; the attack came on quite suddenly. He continued subject to these attacks ten or twelve times a year; they always came on without previous warning, sometimes when he was walking in the street, or engaged in his usual occupation, so that he was obliged to be assisted home. On one occasion he was suddenly attacked whilst on a ladder engaged in carrying up about 20 pounds of soda in a state of fusion, which he was compelled to throw down, and had to be assisted to the ground by some of his fellow-workmen. The attack sometimes lasted two or three weeks, and the pain was very severe; he was disabled during their continuance from attending to his work, and was generally confined to his house and frequently to his bed. He never had any medical advice, but tried a variety of remedies without improvement. He had once been engaged on heavy work all night, when Mr. Capern, on going to him in the morning, found him in great pain, hardly able to go about the house, and offered to operate upon him. Contact passes with the flat of the hand being made down the affected limb, he found immediate relief; there was a strong sensation of warmth and a pricking like that caused by the stinging of nettles in the soles of the feet: in less than five minutes the pain had *entirely ceased*, and did not return for nearly *three* years.

About six weeks ago Mr. Capern accidentally met him in the street, and, hearing that he was suffering from a slight return of his old pain in consequence of a cold, offered to make the passes over him; and in a few minutes entirely relieved him, and the pain has not returned.

X. Affection of Lungs and Heart.

George Shopland, Cadbury: Statement made to Mr. E. Dunsford.

George Shopland, residing at Cadbury, in the employ of Mr. Rewe, surveyor of highways. I was taken ill in June 1848, and was incapable of labour for a quarter of a year: but, although weak and unwell, I continued to labour except the time named, until the spring of 1849, when I was com-

pelled to wholly relinquish work. I had applied to a surgeon, who told me it was a *disease of the heart and asthma*, that *nothing would do me good*, but advised my going to the Exeter Hospital. Instead of doing so, I applied to a medical gentleman of Exeter who at first gave me relief, after which I became worse. I was then advised to apply to Mr. Capern, and the *first time the passes were made over the stomach and heart, I found great relief*. On my seventh visit I felt confident of the result, and the following day I was enabled to resume my labours of quarrying stone for Mr. Rewe, surveyor of highways.

Without his touching me, I experienced great sensations from Mr. C.'s hand being drawn over the affected part. Having a wife and a family of five children under twelve years of age, I was unwilling to go to the hospital.

MEMORANDUM.—The Surgeon who attended George Shopland appeared before the magistrates at Tiverton, and made an *affidavit* that his complaints were disease of the heart and asthma, and that they would produce *permanent disability*.

VII. Review of M. ALPHONSE CAHAGNET'S *Arcanes de la Vie Future Dévoilés, &c.* By the REV. GEORGE SANDBY, Vicar of Flixton, Suffolk.

"Is it not then natural, that men should eagerly seek for some *superhuman* means of information on subjects so interesting to their curiosity? Is it not to be expected, that the *visions* of an enthusiast should abound in food for this curiosity?—till a diseased fancy mistakes its *day dreams* for a *revelation*?"—ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN. *Essays*, vol. i., p. 211.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOIST.

Flixton, November, 1849.

SIR.—A mesmeric work has recently been published at Paris, which merits some attention from the English reader, both on account of the singular nature of its contents, and the notice it has obtained in the French magnetic world. The Baron du Potet, in his *Journal of Magnetism*, says, that the "book has produced a sensation amongst them there, and that it is a *step towards the unknown*:" and to judge from its pages, the author has secured a host of correspondents and friends in support of his views. In England, but comparatively few persons are aware of its existence. The *Family Herald*, a periodical with an enormous circulation, perplexed its readers lately by an article respecting it: but the editor gave little more than a summary of its contents, and admitting that it was a "singular book," and not hastily to be set aside,

concluded with no opinion, but added that he "should wait and see what others thought of it." I have read the book carefully through, comparing it with other works of the same character, and now propose to tell you what I think respecting it; for which opinion, however, your pages will be in no manner responsible. Many will probably dissent from my views: still it may be hoped that some portion of truth will be elicited from the enquiry.

The work consists of two volumes, and is called, *The Secrets of the Future Life unveiled, and the Existence and Occupations of the Soul when separated from the Body proved by the Apparition and Revelations of divers Spirits to ecstatic Somnambules, &c.* The author, M. Alphonse Cahagnet, says that he is a plain working-man (simple *ouvrier*), with no position in the social or scientific world, but that he is enabled by the medium of mesmerism to present the most momentous truths to the knowledge of his fellow-creatures, and to confirm the reality of his statements by irrefragable testimony. For this purpose he has the assistance of eight ecstatic or lucid somnambules (the most important by far of whom is Madame Adèle Maginot), who all have the alleged power of calling up, of seeing, and of conversing with the souls of the departed. No less than seventy or eighty spirits thus make their appearance, besides angels and evil demons, and among them we find Swedenborg, Louis XVI., priests, philosophers, and alchemists, and a long succession of the relatives of those that are present at the sittings, and who request their friends to be thus summoned. The greater part of the two volumes is taken up with a description of the persons of the spirits who thus appear, and who, it should be observed, are only visible to the clairvoyant; and with conversations on religious, philosophical, and domestic subjects between M. Cahagnet and his friends on the one side, and the spirits who are summoned on the other, the somnambule being the medium of communication. And the wonderful thing in the book, and what indeed offers a startling difficulty for our solution, is the marvellous accuracy with which the persons of the spirits are invariably portrayed. Parties who had been dead twenty or thirty years, and whom neither the clairvoyant nor M. Cahagnet had ever seen, instantly, upon their names being only mentioned by a third person in the room, present themselves to the vision of the somnambule, who at once describes their dress, their age, their height, their features, their complexion, the colour of their hair, the colour of their eyes, their personal defects, and characteristic habits and temperament, with a fidelity of representation that baffles all denial. Trivial domestic circum-

stances, that were only known to the survivor, are mentioned, and facts, which were forgotten or misunderstood, brought up or explained. And all this does not happen once or twice and accidentally, but upon upwards of a hundred occasions, as it would appear by these volumes. Neither is the testimony to the truthfulness of the above statements of light value. Persons of the highest respectability and in all grades of life affirm, by their signatures and their addresses, the correctness of what is here published. Several, who had entered M. Cahagnet's apartments unbelievers in a spiritual world and in a future state of existence, quitted Adèle's communications converted and convinced, and satisfied that they had but just parted from the presence of those who in their lifetime had been most dear to them. Now a book pretending to such information, and conveying statements that are backed by evidence of this character, ought not to be passed over with a supercilious sneer of incredulity, or be explained away at a moment's notice by some customary and favourite theory. Whatever the ignorance of the non-mesmeric public may suggest, a philosophical mesmerist should at least look the question in the face. *Either* the book is a scandalous fabrication, and M. Cahagnet and his friends vile impostors, whose falsehoods, for the credit of mesmerism, ought to be exposed in *The Zoist*,—*or* Madame Adèle Maginot offers one of the most brilliant instances of the powers of thought-reading and clairvoyance, especially of the former faculty, that I have yet either heard or read of,—so brilliant indeed, that her case deserves peculiar study; *or*, the fact is, as M. Cahagnet assumes, that the spirits of the departed *do* and *can* appear to a mesmeric ecstatic, and in that condition can communicate truths the most interesting and vital for our information. After a cautious perusal of the book, I can see no other conclusion than one of the above inferences; and, whichever of them the case may be, the subject demands a patient investigation at your hands.

The reader will by this time see that the work falls under the class to which belong the *Principles of Nature and her Divine Revelations*, by Davis, the Poughkeepsie clairvoyant, the *Seeress of Prevorst*, by Justin Kerner, Haddock's *Somnolism and Psycheism*, at section 38, and some minor French magnetic works:* and it is as well to add, that the tendency of all these works is to support the doctrines of Emanuel

* I have never read Jung-Stilling's *Theory of the Doctrine of Spirits*, which is of the same class, and with which many of your readers are familiar. He teaches, I believe, that those who have gone before us are able to place themselves *en rapport* with us; and that this relationship depends upon the degree in which the spiritual condition is free from the influences of the external senses.

Swedenborg. Now it is a curious fact, if it be not also a staggering one, that so many of the higher clairvoyants do coincide thus strongly in asserting the truthfulness of Swedenborg's statements. The followers of that remarkable man are a numerous and, I believe, an increasing body; and many of them derive no small confidence as to the authenticity of his *Revelations*, from the countenance that they obtain through recent somnambules. Among these followers the learned Professor Bush of New York occupies a leading place. His work called *Mesmer and Swedenborg* is well known. And it therefore becomes an interesting question to ask, whether the disclosures of clairvoyance do throw light upon the teaching of Swedenborg? and if so, is it by adding important corroboration to the views of that extraordinary man, or is it by reducing the teacher himself to the simple level of an ecstatic visionary?

Before, however, we enter upon that inquiry, our first query must be, Is this book to be depended upon? In truth, I can see no reason to question either the good faith of the author or the credibility of his witnesses. I must believe that the conversations as reported have substantially taken place, and that the description of persons and things was as correct in the main as the parties interested in the inquiries affirm them to have been; or I must, on the other hand, reject every testimony, however respectable, that runs counter to my own opinions, and adopt the odious doctrine that "all men are liars." The book is decidedly written in an earnest, truth-loving spirit. Nay I might almost say, that it was a religious book, and composed with a reverential feeling for things sacred. For though I may express regret at the strange nature of several of its tenets, still it must be remembered, that it is in great measure written with a religious purpose, and for the sake of extending the creed of a particular sect of religionists. In fact, M. Cahagnet's object appears to be, to strengthen the world's belief in the doctrines of a future state of existence, and of the happiness of the virtuous and good on their departure from this life; and this he endeavours to do on the very same principles and from the very same class of alleged evidence, on which a numerous body of Christians in this country and in the United states have founded their churches.

This, at once, gives an unexpected interest to the subject: and as probably many of your readers are not aware of the grounds on which Swedenborg laid claim to the honours of a divine mission, and professed to have been favoured with a special revelation, it may be convenient to state in few words

the reasons for which he established the New Jerusalem Church.

Emanuel Swedenborg, then, (to use Professor Bush's own words*), claims to have been "*supernaturally put into a condition that enabled him to hold converse with the spiritual world, and to lay open to human view its otherwise inscrutable mysteries.*" He was originally of the Swedish Lutheran church, was an unusually learned man, and eminently versed in the mathematical and physical sciences, held a situation under the government of Stockholm, and was a member of the Swedish Diet. About 1743 he announced, that he had ascended to the invisible world, had enjoyed thereby repeated visions of angels and of spirits, had obtained an accurate understanding of man's condition in the next life, and a clearer comprehension than had been yet vouchsafed to any previous mortal of the sense and purport of the Christian scriptures. We need not particularize what Swedenborg's doctrines were: it is sufficient to say, that, taking Christianity for his basis, he amplified and "improved" upon it by his disclosures and interpretations, that he is regarded in the light of an apostle by the "New Church," and, lastly, that the writings, in which all these revelations are contained, exhibit considerable ability or "illumination." Since the death of its founder, Swedenborgianism has been rather gaining ground than otherwise, especially in these latter years; and in London, at this moment, there are two "churches" in which its doctrines are publicly taught. Still, however, with the great body of Christians, these "revelations" have been quite unknown or held in small repute; and Swedenborg himself has been looked upon as little else than a madman, or a blasphemous fanatic; and thus matters seemed likely to remain. When, suddenly, "a new phasis of our nature," as Professor Bush expresses it, is developed, and the phenomena of mesmerism enter "into juxtaposition with the spiritual disclosures of Swedenborg." The very same or similar visions,—the very same or similar communications,—the very same or similar doctrines, are presented to the perceptions of ecstatic clairvoyants. Angels and spirits without number stand before the somnambule at a moment's notice, and re-assert the truthfulness of the Swede's original revelations. Nay, the great prophet himself obeys the bidding, and confirms, in solemn phrase, the general accuracy of his own teachings. A strong sensation is naturally excited with very many. Surprise, gratification, and triumph pervade the fold of the "New Church." The harmony between

* *Mesmer and Swedenborg*, p. 15.

the character of the two developments is felt to be so complete, that nothing short of a miraculous interposition on the part of Providence itself could have brought about the identity. The Swedish seer throws a sacred light round the marvels of mesmerism ; while Mesmer authenticates the divine legation of the Swedish seer. A learned Professor and Theologian "has no scruple to avow it as his firm conviction that the phenomena of mesmerism have been developed in this age with the *express design* of testifying by external evidence to the absolute truth of the disclosures and doctrines which Swedenborg has promulgated to the world." Thus also it is, that the clairvoyant powers of Andrew Davis assume the character of supernatural revelations. Thus it is that the magnetic dreams of Madame Hauffe, of Wirtemberg, approach the dignity of authoritative expositions. Thus it is that Mr. Haddock, of Bolton, perceives in the statements of his admirable clairvoyante, Emma, "a harmony with the principles of divine revelations," and instructions on "the nature of the spirit's home" and the habits of the "spirit world."* And thus it is that in the two volumes before us, M. Cahagnet unveils the mysterious secrets of our "future life," and communicates "facts," and "doctrines," and "spiritual truths," which agree through a *quasi*-miraculous harmony with those originally promulgated by Emanuel Swedenborg.

All this offers matter for respectful inquiry. To take the lowest view of the subject, these repeated coincidences are a curious fact, instructive in a merely physiological light, but of much importance when they assume a religious aspect. For the parties, who are under the influences of these alleged revelations, are not wild uneducated enthusiasts, but thoughtful and able men, and *a priori* as competent to come to a just conclusion as one of ourselves. If, therefore, they be right, we are strangely wrong : and if they be under erroneous impressions it would be but decorous in us to point out the sources of their delusion in a candid tone of discussion, and not get rid of the question, as too many of us are disposed, by a hasty laugh of sceptical bigotry.

To return, then, to M. Cahagnet's ecstasies, the problem for our solution is,—what was the medium through which they arrived at their knowledge? Was the agency natural or supernatural?

When M. Cahagnet's first volume appeared, the leading mesmerists of the French metropolis at once pronounced that

* See Mesmer and Swedenborg, p. 6 ; *The Principles of Nature, &c.*, by Davis. *The Seeress of Prevorst*, by Dr. Kerner ; and Haddock's *Somnolism and Psychism*, p. 69.

these assumed appearances of the spiritual world, and these faithful delineations of persons and things, were little else than fresh instances of that old power with which we are all acquainted, *transmission of thought*,—to which conclusion, after a close analysis of the book, I myself also arrived. Hereupon M. Cahagnet publishes his second volume, embracing, if possible, still more extraordinary facts than the first, and containing his refutation of, and arguments against, the aforesaid theory; his definition of thought-reading and an exposition of its limits; and explaining why that faculty, however extraordinary, could by no means reach to an elucidation of his cases, inasmuch as the parties *en rapport* with the clairvoyant were not thinking of, or not acquainted with, the points under inquiry, had no feeling in favor of the views put forth, or no belief in the doctrines, and sometimes even laboured, though in vain, to obtain demonstrations of an adverse nature. And here it is that our author introduces sundry observations which I cannot entirely pass over. M. Cahagnet has become a staunch anti-materialist: but his bitterness and warmth against materialist views, and the ostentatious humility with which he denounces the wisdom of the scientific, are put forth in a manner so unnecessarily offensive that they give to his otherwise instructive contributions the tone of an unpleasant controversy. I am no materialist myself: *au contraire*, and would moreover gladly adopt several of the declarations of M. Cahagnet's unseen visitants, as containing doctrines of a most consolatory and delightful tendency: but the present question is this,—*not* whether we are surrounded by a spiritual world,—but whether M. Cahagnet's disclosures *prove* that we are, or add any increased confidence to our previous persuasions on the subject; or whether all his facts, however staggering they may be at the first consideration, may not be at last solved on mesmeric principles, without this intervention of extra-natural machinery.

Let me, then, now state in general terms what may be understood by the phrase, *transference of thought*. This marvellous manifestation of mesmeric influence falls into that class of high phenomena resulting from the mysterious relationship which exists between the magnetizer and his subject, and which exhibit themselves under the type of community of sensation. This sympathy of the senses presents itself under more than one guise, varying with various patients; in some being scarcely, if at all, perceptible, in others developing itself to an intense degree. Transference of touch, transference of taste, transference of pain, are effects with which we are all of us more or less familiar. And trans-

ference of thought, or the communication of ideas from one brain to another, is nothing but a development of the very same principle, though evidently of a higher order. The *next* question, then, is, to *what extent* this latter power is or can be carried: in other words, is this transmission of thought confined to what is generally passing in the brain of the mesmeriser, or can facts which he has forgotten, facts which have vanished from his mind altogether, but which we may suppose to be still latent in the cerebral region, and retaining the traces of their first impression, can these facts be revived, as it were, and transferred to the sensitive brain of the somnambule, without the mesmeriser himself being conscious of their re-existence? Can a brain, too, which is not in *apparent rapport* with the sleeper,—a brain which is at a distance,—or which in years long past had been in sympathetic intercourse with some person that is present,—can this brain, by a quasi-electric chain of most mysterious communication, conduct its still uneffaced impressions to the brain of the ecstatic? These are queries which observation has forced upon my consideration, and which bear most closely upon the contents of these present volumes. Of course, the first difficulty is, to believe in transference of thought at all; but when that phenomenon is once established as a truth, the other points are only *questions of degree*. And certainly additional experience leads me to suspect, that, in certain rare and exquisitely-sensitive cases of ecstatic-sleepwaking, the power of the human brain for receiving by transference these mental impressions reaches to a far greater extent than from our earlier observations we ventured to conclude.*

Archbishop Whately makes an observation in his work on *Evidences*, peculiarly apposite to cases of this description. "We are often obliged to believe something that is very wonderful, in order to avoid believing something else that is still more wonderful." And however difficult it may be to believe in so extraordinary an *extension* of the faculty of thought-reading, as I have just referred to, I can still more readily believe in such an *abnormal enlargement of a well-established power*, than call up for the solution of our difficulty, the existence of a new and still more marvellous manifestation. To quote the Archbishop again: "I am compelled to believe the one, because I cannot think of any other way that is not far more incredible."†

* In *Mesmerism and its Opponents*, p. 88 and p. 308, second edition, I have given a description of "transference of thought," from which on a re-perusal I see nothing that can be subtracted, and to which, in our present imperfect knowledge, I fear that there is not much that can be added.

† *Evidences*, p. 29.

It is now time that we examine M. Cahagnet's reply to the mesmeric argument of the communication of thought.

1. "Is it true (he asks), that a clairvoyant can see, hear, feel, and converse (*sentir et converser*) with another being at a distance?"

2. "Is it true, that it is only necessary to put the clairvoyant *en rapport* with the names of the places and of the persons that we desire to make him perceive at a distance, for him to perceive them?"

"If you answer *yes* to these two single questions, (and you cannot answer *no*,) you admit the existence of an intelligent being or fluid, *independent* in that state of the material body, and able to take cognizance of such things. Now such a being or fluid well deserves a name; and we give it the name of soul."*

Now I at once deny the logical accuracy of this conclusion. The fallacy of our author's hypothesis lurks in the word "*independent*;" and M. Cahagnet does not perceive that, at the very beginning of his argument, he is begging the whole question which is at issue between us. As a firm believer in clairvoyance, I may perhaps say "*yes*" to his two queries, though I somewhat demur to the phrase "*converser*," and perhaps to that of "*sentir*:" but putting my own interpretation upon his language, and employing his words in a generalized sense, I will, for the sake of argument, adopt his two first propositions as real. But what then? Does it therefore follow, that we must admit that the *medium* of clairvoyance is "*independent* of the material body," and "*independent* of material laws," (p. 12,) and enjoys an "*individualized existence*," apart from the corporeal frame? Now *that* is the very point that we all want to know; that is, in truth, the very question on which hinges the whole secret respecting the causes, and the principles, and the action of clairvoyance. I cannot, therefore, admit our author's proposition,—neither do I deny it; for this simple reason, that I know nothing about it. To assert, therefore, that the clairvoyant medium, "*be it soul, or fluid, or spirit, or what you will*," (p. 12,) separates itself from its "*carnal envelope*," becomes independent of it, and can go where it will, alone and disunited from it, is to adopt an hypothesis exceedingly convenient for our author's subsequent reasonings, but which demands a little more proof than has been at present attainable. In the present state of our knowledge, one hypothesis is as good as another; and we are assured by sundry magnetists, that the clairvoyant agent is an invisible, imponderable, quasi-electric telegraphic wire, which shoots forth from the brain of the somnambule to the brain, or the place, or the person with which it is *en rapport*, and, making its observation on the

* Vol. ii., p. 11.

spot, returns back from whence it started, without having the line of communication for an instant divided. Now whether this theory approach nearer to the truth than M. Cahagnet's we know not; and till the true theory be ascertained, any deductions from any hypothesis, however agreeable, are clearly inadmissible.

The whole pith, then, of M. Cahagnet's arguments is so completely included in the above extract, and especially in the word "independent," that it is unnecessary to pursue his train of reasoning, or to deny that a "soul, when thus separated from and independent of the body, might see and converse with other souls, and secure a large amount of interesting information." All this we might allow, were this disjunction of the clairvoyant medium but once established; but, in default of this, our author's lengthened argumentations only leave us where we began, in doubt as to the correctness of his very first principle. And while, therefore, I would speak with all diffidence on so doubtful a subject, and admit that several statements in M. Cahagnet's narrative are extremely perplexing, and present difficulties for which I cannot always find an immediate solution, I must still come to the conclusion that his *main facts* are explicable on the old mesmeric principles of thought-reading and clairvoyance, while for the conversational or "revelation" portions of the book we must look for the origin in sources of a less real and less reliable character.

And what sources are these? In other words, why were all these facts presented to the sleepwaker through the *apparent* medium of spiritual communication, and not simply and nakedly on the brain at once? My answer is, that suggestion, imagination, a power of artificial dreaming, and a love of producing wonder will, according as the case may be, respectively and reciprocally explain the mystery. And here, in passing, let me request the mesmerist not to be frightened at the bare mention of these topics, and conceive that, by thus introducing them, we are yielding ground to the enemy. The phantastic creations of the brain act far more in mesmerism than at first we are quite aware of, more especially at the later stages, and when the magnetic relationship is once well-established.* And in the cases before us, the agency of these influences is clearly traceable. For instance, M. Cahagnet shews us at the beginning of his first volume (pp. 13, 14), that he had had a *hankering* about the doctrine of spirits. Though incredulous

* The reader is referred to the last number of *The Zoist*, p. 250, for some admirable observations by Dr. Elliotson on this head, which will well repay perusal.

respecting their existence, as he says, he still wanted to hear about them, to see them, and to make up his mind respecting them. He seems to have kept a journal of his experiences, and of his visions, and of the "corporeal phenomena" that had occurred to him. From the whole tenor of the two volumes there is strong internal evidence that the subject had been *uppermost* in his mind for some time; and, though we must not say that he had come to a "foregone conclusion" before the evidence was completed, since he assures us so much of his scepticism, we still see enough to know that his mind was well-prepared for impressions on the subject, and that he had paved the way for inevitable conclusions. Though I acquit M. Cahagnet of the design of guiding his somnambules into a particular train of answers, by putting, as it were, leading questions to them, it is impossible not to observe what was the tendency of his thoughts, and not to see that "suggestion" must have had an active operation. Granted that, in the first instance, the suggestion might have been ever so faint or indirect, still the smallest suggestion is sufficient, and half a hint does the work. *Ce n'est que le premier pas*, on these occasions, as on many others; for, when the main idea of a spiritual world is apprehended, the rest follows of course. Neither do I tax the somnambules with intentionally deceiving M. Cahagnet; for such is the power of fancy, and such the creative action of the brain in this sensitive state of impressionability, that they themselves believe in their own inventions; they see what they wish, and find what they know will be agreeable. And thus it is that the remotest allusion from without takes a form and consistency within; and a word dropped from a magnetizer respecting our future existence leads to a whole train of visual, or rather cerebral, illusions, through which a world of angels and of spirits, in the most vivid and life-like shapes, pass in review before the nervous system of the sleeper.

So early as at p. 8 of the first volume, we find questions respecting Swedenborg, addressed to Bruno, the first ecstatic. At p. 82, the author tells that he had now become a regular student of Swedenborg's works, since he had obtained a glimpse into the spiritual world. As we go on reading, we see the Swedenborgian doctrines growing and expanding, and assuming more and more of a definite shape. We see this particularly in the case of the great ecstatic Adèle, whose confidence in her powers seems to gain ground by practice, and whose emendations and *improvements* upon her first revelations are very noticeable. And at last, when Swedenborg himself appears, the self-deception has become so complete that the

inquiries no longer contain indirect allusions to his writings, but point-blank questions respecting the accuracy of particular parts of his statements are addressed to the somnambule, who returns most specific answers, repeating and confirming almost everything that Swedenborg had written.

I think that I can now furnish you with proof conclusive as to the cerebral illusion under which these ecstasies are influenced; and for this purpose I shall refer to two of M. Cahagnet's most favourite "facts."

The reader, then, will bear in mind, that the position which these volumes endeavour to prove, is, that the spirits of the departed *can* and *do* make their appearance to an ecstatic sleep-waker, and can hold conversations with him. When we have no means of ascertaining the truth of what is asserted, a somnambule may say what he likes; but what if the somnambule forget himself, or is led astray by his illusions, and endeavours to *prove a little too much*?

M. Lucas, of Rambouillet, (vol. ii., p. 32,) being uneasy about the fate of a brother-in-law, who had disappeared about twelve years, and of whom he had received no intelligence, consults Madame Adèle respecting him. As soon as she summons the lost relative by name, he makes his appearance; whereupon she gives such an exact description of his features and person, that M. Lucas declares that the identity is complete. Thus far we have simply an instance of the accurate power of thought-reading; but the somnambule then says, that the brother is *not dead*, but is residing in a foreign country, America probably. When the apparition, too, at length speaks, he says, "*I am not dead*, I am living in Mexico; I followed the Emperor Don Pedro, and have been five years a prisoner, —but my relations will see me again." It is not necessary, for the present argument, to give any farther details of this case, except to add, that it afterwards transpires that some of the man's relatives had at one time conjectured that he had joined the army of Don Pedro, and had consequently made inquiries respecting him in that direction. Have we not here, therefore, something like cause and effect, and a curious instance of the chain by which an idea can be transmitted from brain to brain?

M. Mirande, of St. Cloud, (vol. ii., p. 63,) demands through Adèle the apparition of a brother, whom he believes to have died in the campaign against Russia. The brother appears; and the description, with certain exceptions, of his figure, his uniform, and his character is so correct, that M. Mirande recognizes him at once. But this brother is *not dead either*; for when he speaks, he says that he had suffered much,—had

been made prisoner, had been sent to the furthest parts of Russia, but did not *know the name of the country* where he was,—that his brother would see him again, &c., &c.; but the particulars are unimportant.

Now M. Cahagnet attaches great importance to these two cases, arguing, that if the spirits of *living* men ("great virtue in this *ir*") could thus make their appearance and converse, it follows *a fortiori* that the spirits of those that are separated by death from the body must with far greater probability possess the same power, and that thus by these two cases we have acquired a certitude of all that he had hitherto asserted in this respect. The enthusiasm of M. Cahagnet prevents him from seeing that his own facts, it is to be feared, overturn his own hypothesis, and prove the unsubstantiality of his visions; for we must nail him and his followers down to these two cases, and bring their possibility to an easy test. For instance, these alleged communications were real or unreal; if real, and it be true that the spirits of these two men, the one resident in Mexico, and the other on the borders of China, could thus maintain a conversation with a somnambule, (and whether that the somnambule's spirit travelled to them, or that their's travelled to the somnambule, is unimportant,) it is clear that the men themselves must have been conscious of the intercourse. The spirit, according to M. Cahagnet's own doctrine, is the actual man; it must have been the spirit, then, that spoke, and asserted that he was living: the reality, therefore, of the whole transaction is easy of proof. We do not want these two men to be fetched from afar to narrate their singular experiences; the fact can be tried nearer home. Let Adèle one morning communicate after the same fashion with the spiritual part of some persons resident in Paris or France,—let her hold a dialogue with them, as she did in Mexico and Russia,—and unless these absent persons become conscious of the communication, and agree in the accuracy of the conversations in which they are supposed to take a part, the unreality of the assumed "perception" is at once obvious, and we have incontestable proof that the whole is a mental delusion.

I contend, then, that we have in these two cases evidence conclusive that a reflection of persons or things can be so strongly mirrored on the brain by some power of concentration, as to assume the semblance of an actual embodiment. Now an effect, which I assume to be possible in respect of parties supposed to be living, can be equally possible in respect to parties supposed or known to be dead. The illusion in both instances is identical. The characteristics of each class of ap-

parition are one and the same. And though we cannot prove that the spirits of the departed do not communicate with this lucid lady, as she so confidently asserts that they do, we can yet prove that the spirits of the living do no such thing (unless she fulfil the condition above referred to); and inasmuch as both communications fall under the same category, and are both attended by the same class of circumstantial and supposed facts, the nature of these visions becomes at once evident, and the refutation of the theory complete.*

To prove still more clearly the *reductio ad absurdum* to which this doctrine of apparitions is pushed by M. Cahagnet, I must furnish you with one more case before I leave this part of the subject, for it clearly marks the true character of these visions; for if there were any apparition at all in the following story, it was an *apparition of spirits by the legion*.

Madame Osborn (vol. ii., p. 199) receives from Adèle a description of the death of an uncle, who had died in battle some years before. The ecstatic sees the whole battle in action (*elle voit la bataille dans toute son action, cette scène lui apparaît pleine d'activité*); she sees the uncle struck down by a cannon ball; she hears the sound of the cannon when it is fired,† and feels an inexplicable oppression at the noise. Now so far I can understand the above facts: they are remarkable instances of the power of imagination upon the brain in that sensitive state when clairvoyance is in action; but M. Cahagnet regards them as proofs of a spiritual existence. *Either*, then, he must believe that the spirits of all those that were engaged in the conflict were so obliging as actually to reappear before Adèle, and to fight their battle over again for her instruction; in which case, his belief is comprehensive enough, and he must certainly regard the world of spirits as marvellously condescending: *or*, if he admit that *any part of the above vision* were but a picture on the brain, he admits the possibility of a spectral illusion, and the argument on his side is closed at once. For everything else that he has mentioned

* A remarkable instance of the power of imagination over the body occurs at the *séance* with M. Lucas, and is adduced by our author as a proof that the spirit of the somnambule had travelled to Mexico for the interview. It is a rainy day at Paris: but Adèle suffers a *coup de soleil* from presumed exposure to the rays of the tropical luminary. That there was an analogous effect produced is certain; for several parties were present and witnessed it. The question is, what was the cause? See vol. ii., pp. 37 and 208. On another occasion, Adèle suffers severely from the disease of which an 'apparition' had died some years before, p. 171. Again, what was the cause? Did the spirit, after many years residence in the other world, communicate the disease? or was it sympathetic action, the result of cerebral impressions?

† Professor Bush mentions the case of a clairvoyante, who was taken (mentally) to the Falls of Niagara, who described the fall of water, and said she should become deaf if she stayed near it, p. 40.

may equally be the same sort of cerebral deception, and one spirit is no more real than another.

I hope that I may have done some service to mesmerism in thus endeavouring to separate truths that really belong to it, from extravagant notions which only bring discredit to the cause. An examination of any further facts is not necessary. Sufficient have been given to indicate the nature of the rest. But inasmuch as Professor Bush, in his work already quoted, speaks of the "*internal character*" of Swedenborg's discoveries, as affording evidence of their truth, it may be as well to furnish you with a similar test in regard to the contents of these volumes, that those of your readers, who may still have a leaning towards these developments of spiritualism, may judge how far they are in accordance with common sense and reason.

I shall confine myself to two points,—the "contradictions" between these different revelations, and the "poverty of ideas" that is exhibited.

I. Of course, if revelations are to be accredited, there should be complete harmony between the different parts. If one spirit advances one thing, and one another, we form our conclusions as to their trustworthiness: but M. Cahagnet has here given us a new doctrine on this head. I was noting down for comment the points in which these volumes differed from the disclosures given through Davis and Madame Hauffe, but more especially the manifest discrepancies that existed in the volumes themselves, when I suddenly came upon a piece of information that at once relieved me of this labour. The "revelations" are, in fact, scarcely revelations. The contradictions, in short, are so palpable, that they are at once admitted, and our author gives the explanation. It is this,—it is not that the spirits are "lying spirits," but that the fancies, the feelings, the studies, the pursuits, the society, nay, the religious and philosophical notions of this life so accompany the spirit on his arrival into the other, that he is scarcely more instructed upon any single point than we are; so that, in fact, when we receive a communication from him, his statements are so coloured by his antecedent habits and opinions that we not only do not obtain the absolute truth, but not always an approximation to it. In other words, a Jew seems to remain a Jew; a Catholic, a Catholic; and a miser to be as fond of gold as before; and thus disclosures which are magnificently put forth as being the "secrets of the future unveiled," turn out to be a mere mass of misstatements, on the accuracy of which not the slightest reliance can be placed. Truly, a most lame and impotent explanation! but it illustrates what I have before advanced, that Adèle, as she progressed,

improved greatly upon her first communications; and the reason is obvious: somnambules who talk much require good memories. The consistency of their statements is sure to fail them sooner or later; and the best explanation that is at hand is vamped up for the occasion. On this head, I refer the reader to vol. ii., pp. 27, 28, 29, 43, 132, 176, 179, &c.

II. But the poverty of ideas, which pervades these communications, proves still more the sources of their inspiration. They are "of the earth, earthy." Anything more puerile can scarcely be imagined. The representations of the other world are just the sort of dreams which we might expect to receive from any boy or girl, who had heard or read a little on the subject, and who had picked up his notions of paradise, partly from Swedenborg, and partly from fairy tales. I had marked several passages, but they scarcely merit extraction; yet you must have a few as a sample. Some angels have wings, and some have not. Wings are a proof of a religious disposition. Horses have wings. Then there are the old names of Gabriel and Raphael. There are the same occupations in heaven that we have on earth. Spirits eat, drink, walk, read, amuse themselves with music, with the sciences, and with metaphysics. One spirit seems particularly fond of peaches; she never appears without eating one. There is one tree from which they gather pears, plums, peaches, and cherries, at the same time, and can eat as many as they like. There are the most beautiful flowers too, but they are *forbidden to be gathered*. There are *toys* too for children, which *never break*; and every dress, that men wear in this life, has its impression so stamped upon the spiritual part, that the spirit is able to present himself to us under any costume that would be most convenient for his recognition. The theological opinions are little else than a transcript from Swedenborg. But it is not necessary to pursue this topic any further. It is sufficient to say that there is scarcely an idea in the work which is not borrowed or adopted from some one else.

I have thought it desirable to give this lengthened analysis of the book, because many of our friends imagine that we are on the eve of great discoveries through the aid of mesmerism, and that these volumes will contribute a large quota of assistance to the work. How far they are entitled to receive this degree of consideration, your readers must now judge. But though we may not estimate the contents of this book at the worth at which they are prized by M. Cahagnet, we may still regard them as a valuable contribution to the mesmeric library through the unquestionable instances that they record of the powers of clairvoyance in its highest phase. In this respect,

these volumes are truly remarkable, and well deserving of the attention of every student of mesmerism.

Let us now return to the question with which we originally started, viz., what is the light which these pages cast upon the doctrines of Swedenborg? Are they corroborative of his claims to the prophetic character? and do they tend to compel "a credence in him as a truthful reporter of the facts and phenomena of the spirit world?"*

My answer is anticipated. The mysterious disclosures of Madame Adèle are like the mysterious disclosures of sundry previous clairvoyants, the mere result of accident and nothing else. Had she fallen into the hands of a mesmeriser, whose inquiries tended to a different direction, her revelations would have taken a different type, and Wesley, or Mohammed, or St. Francis, would have occupied the foreground of the picture, instead of Emanuel Swedenborg, the great hero of modern psychology.†

But a close examination of these volumes has led me a step still further. I feel more than ever assured, that an ecstatic dreamer can fancy almost anything; and that the embodiment of those fancies does come out in such bold and clearly defined relief, that the dreamer becomes so deceived himself that at last his wildest flights of imagination assume in his eyes the garb of the holiest inspiration. Now why should not this phenomenon of mesmerism be spontaneously developed in some cases of peculiar idiosyncrasy, like the other phenomena of this power,—as for instance, in the case of Swedenborg? It is well known that Swedenborg has been termed by many, "a self-mesmerised clairvoyant;" and the more I look into his case, the more inclined I am to adopt that opinion. The pages of *The Zoist* have already contributed some information on this subject.‡ And certainly, upon examining the details of his life and of his physical condition, I am strongly led to believe that Swedenborg, by long-sustained self-meditation, had wrought himself up unconsciously into a quasi-mesmeric trance of frequent occurrence, under which the reflective powers of a superior mind became considerably exalted, and the ardent wishes of his quickened sensibility were embodied under forms congenial to his studies.

The quere, then, that I put to the followers of Swedenborg is the very converse of the proposition adopted by Professor Bush. Do not the phenomena of mesmerism lead them

* Professor Bush. *Preface*.

† The reader is referred to the seventh chapter of *Mesmerism and its Opponents*, where various instances illustrative of this position are given at length.

‡ *Zoist*, Vol. V., pp. 345 and 347.

to suspect the correctness of their judgment, and instead of obeying a divine revelation, are they quite certain that they are not beguiled into their religious opinions by nothing more nor less than a cerebral illusion?

I remain, Mr. Editor,
Your humble servant,
GEORGE SANDBY.

VIII. *Thought-reading and Clairvoyance.*

SOME of the phenomena of mesmerism, such as *thought-reading* and *clairvoyance*, are subjects of incredulity with many scientific men, and yet they are supported by testimony which can leave no doubt of their existence. The whole subject, however, is enrapt in mystery, and in these philosophic times, when miracles cease to be the order of the day, mysteries will be always enveloped in doubt until they are rationally accounted for. With this view I suggested the possible solution of what seems to be well established, viz., the capability of a person mesmerised to *comprehend* sensations or ideas communicated in a language with which he is unacquainted.*

Observe, I speak of the possibility of *understanding* ideas conveyed in an unknown tongue, and not of the person mesmerised *speaking* in a tongue previously unknown to him; two propositions widely different. With regard to thought-reading, (the power of disarming the thoughts of the mesmeriser, or of any other person with whom the person mesmerised is *en rapport*,) and clairvoyance,† to a certain extent I think they may be both also accounted for. Let us consider for an instant the curious discovery of daguerreotype, and the mode by which the operation is performed. We have here a chemical combination of certain molecules, which the sun's rays (not improbably a modification of electric matter) act upon in an extraordinary manner, and so as to produce the form of the objects from which such rays are reflected. Now we have in this process forms which are effected by an *arrangement of matter* through the instrumentality of light. We know, with respect to ourselves, that our thoughts may be, by our volition, put into action through the medium of a fluid which passes by the aid of conductors, which we call nerves, and by which the muscles are set in motion. All our sensations and impressions come through the senses to the mind, or sensorium, in the same manner. How, let me ask, does

* See *Zoist*, No. XXV., p. 101. My address was misprinted Clapton.

† Clairvoyance and thought-reading, Mr. Parsons thinks, are different operations, and not to be confounded. Query.

this differ from the operation of the daguerreotype, except that the mind is a more perfect and a living instrument? It is evident that every fresh object in the daguerreotype must be produced by a *different arrangement* of the particles of matter, and so must, I apprehend, every fresh sensation in the human mind. Two distinct sensations cannot exist under the same modification of matter. Why then should not the mind be a living and conscious daguerreotype? Suppose then the living mirror or mind to receive, by a modification of its component parts, an impression or idea from any object of any sort, where is the difficulty in supposing that such sensation or idea may be electrotyped on another mind, or living mirror, by the agency of the nervous fluid, in the same way that the rays of light imprint objects in the daguerreotype machine? And if so, have we not the solution of thought-reading between the mesmeriser and his patient?

Now with regard to clairvoyance within a certain limitation, for example, the power of seeing the interior of any person, and discerning the cause of disease. It seems well established, that, as between the mesmeriser and the mesmerised, the former, as well as any other person *en rapport* with the latter, appears to the party mesmerised in a state of, what Mr. Parsons calls, "luminosity," *i. e.*, impregnated with an electric matter, which permeates all substances, and which matter seems in these cases to be located between the mesmerised and those with whom he is *en rapport*. Where then exists the impossibility of supposing that this luminous matter, proceeding from the interior of any person or thing, should communicate to the mind of the person *en rapport* with such fluid an impression, in the same way as we are sensible of the existence of a fixed star in consequence of the rays of light which it emits meeting our eye, although the orb itself is not within the range of ordinary vision, and is altogether in a different part of the heavens to that in which it appears to us; a fact which astronomy demonstrates?

As the subject of this paper is connected with phrenology, I will conclude by an *obiter dictum*, suggesting for consideration whether psychologists have not unnecessarily multiplied the powers of the mind by supposing it divisible into various attributes, and whether *consciousness* alone does not embrace all the qualities or manifestations with which it is concluded the mind is endued. For example, can this living organ be conscious of two sensations without of necessity comparing them together, and observing what distinguishes the one from the other? How otherwise can there be a consciousness of more than one sensation? So again, if a sensation be pro-

duced by a substance coloured blue, another yellow, and a third sensation by the union of the two together, or green, does not this consciousness necessarily entail with it the knowledge of dimensions, or the more and the less, with the operations of synthesis and analysis? In fine, does not a consciousness of several sensations or ideas embrace, *ex necessitate rei*, the exercise of all those qualities of the mind which have hitherto been considered as so many distinct attributes? In fact, consciousness seems to bring within its scope all the mental powers except MEMORY, which it is difficult to comprehend as falling within the possible combination of a *moveable* arrangement of matter. It must, I think, be concluded, that the organ of Memory exists in some part of our organization which undergoes no change in the distribution of its particles, though, like all combinations of matter, subject to accident and the ravages of time.*

Clifton, 27th April, 1849.

W. F. S.

* * * The nervous, like the electric fluid, is at present purely imaginary; and not spoken of by the soundest physiologists. Let us speak of phenomena, and speak of their analogies. For mind, our correspondent should have said brain, when he spoke of a living instrument.

We advise our correspondent to study Gall's work, *Sur les Fonctions du Cerveau*; and we are sure that, if he had, he would not have written such phrenological opinions. Gravitation is common to all matter, but matter is of many kinds; consciousness or sensibility is common to every mental organ, but this does not imply that all the cerebral organs are alike. Is it one and the same consciousness that makes the mathematician and the musician? Is it one and the same consciousness that gives the desire of honour and the desire to do good? When the exercise of one faculty gives rise, perhaps instantly, to the exercise of another faculty, this does not shew them to be the same faculties.

As to any organ of Memory, we may lose our memory of words and retain that of everything else.

Sensation is not in the organs of Sense; and therefore an organ of Sense may be lost and yet memory of sensations retained.—*Zoist*.

IX. *Clairvoyance reported by the celebrated John Wesley.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOIST.

SIR,—In looking over the journal of the celebrated John Wesley, I have met with the following accounts, which I

* Gall, I think, supposes that consciousness exists with each organ of sensation, to which I oppose two objections: 1st.—If there were not one common memory for all sensations, we should lose our notion of individuality; 2nd.—That if an organ of Sense should be destroyed, we should have no memory that it had ever existed; of which I have never heard an instance.

take the liberty of transmitting to you as probably interesting illustrations of mesmerism, or rather, of similar phenomena occurring naturally.

With regard to the first account, it is to be regretted that no further information was obtained as to the judicial proceedings, which the murder and this remarkable story must have occasioned.

The great similarity also to the well known methods of the Egyptian "conjurers" or magicians, viz., in using a looking glass, and also in requiring young boys to operate on, is deserving of attention. Does mesmerism throw any light on these particulars?

As to the second relation, it has no equal that I know of, except the celebrated prophecy by Cazotte. Mr. Wesley's account of Pyrah's becoming insane seems clearly to point to a diseased brain, being *not* the result (as Mr. W. naturally fancied) of his honours in England, but the *cause* of the prophecy itself.

If it were not trespassing too much on your time, I would take the opportunity of inquiring whether any *decisive* experiments have yet been made to determine whether, in the case of "vision at a distance," (such as descriptions of foreign scenery, interiors of houses, &c.,) the patient can describe anything *except what the operator is thinking of and picturing in his own mind?** The accounts of cases where the "clairvoyant" is sent to *look for* some person of whose whereabouts and actions every one present is ignorant, are scarcely, I think, satisfactory; and as the experiment is so easily made and so easy to verify, (for instance, by the operator's leaving word for some one at his house, or elsewhere, to do certain things at a certain hour, in such a way however that he himself shall not be able to guess exactly what,) it would be an important addition to our knowledge of the subject. The *verification* is very imperfect, I think, in the cases hitherto published.

Your's obediently,

ALFRED W. HOBSON, M.A.,
St. John's College, Cambridge.

Extract from Mr. Wesley's Journal, under the head,
"July, 1761."

"About one, I preached at Bramley, where Jonas Rushford, about 14 years old, gave me the following relation:—

* Certainly: see No. VII., p. 272; VIII., 482; X., 224; XVIII., 128; XX., 335; XXIV., 370.

'About this time last year I was desired by two of our neighbours, to go with them to Mr. Crowther's, at Skipton, who would not speak to *them*, about a man that had been missing twenty weeks, but bid them bring a boy 12 or 13 years old. When we came in he stood reading a book. He put me into a bed with a looking glass in my hand, and covered me all over. Then he asked me, whom I had a mind to see; and I said 'My mother.' I presently saw her with a lock of wool in her hand, standing just in the place and the clothes she was in, as she told me afterwards. Then he bid me look again for the man that was missing, who was one of our neighbours: and I looked and saw him riding towards Idle; but he was very drunk: and he stopped at the ale-house and drank two pints more; and he pulled out a guinea to change. Two men stood by, a big man and a little man; and they went on before him and got two hedge-stakes. And when he came up, on Windhill common, at the top of the hill, they pulled him off his horse and killed him and threw him into a coal pit. And I saw it all as plainly as if I were close to them: and if I saw the men I should know them again. We went back to Bradford that night, and the next day I went with our neighbours, and shewed them the spot where he was killed, and the pit into which he was thrown. And a man went down and brought him up: and it was as I had told them: his handkerchief was tied about his mouth, and fastened behind his neck."

On which Mr. Wesley makes this remark:—

"Is it improbable only, or flatly impossible, when all the circumstances are considered, that this should all be pure fiction? They that can believe this, may believe a man's getting into a bottle."

Another extract from Mr. Wesley's Works, vol. x., p. 163.

"A little before the conclusion of the late war in Flanders, one who came from thence gave us a very strange relation. I knew not what judgment to form of this; but waited till John Haime should come over, of whose veracity I could no more doubt, than of his understanding. The account he gave was this:—"Jonathan Pyrah, was a member of our society, in Flanders. I knew him some years, and knew him to be a man of unblameable character. One day he was summoned to appear before the board of General Officers. One of them said, 'What is this which we hear of you? We hear you are turned prophet, and that you foretell the downfall of the bloody house of Bourbon, and the haughty house of Austria. We should be glad if you were a real prophet, and if your

prophecies came true. But what sign do you give to convince us you are so; and that your predictions will come to pass?' He readily answered:—'Gentlemen, I give you a sign. To-morrow at 12 o'clock, you shall have such a storm of thunder and lightning, as you never had before since you came into Flanders. I give you a second sign:—as little as any of you expect any such thing, as little appearance of it as there is now, you shall have a general engagement with the French within three days. I give you a third sign, I shall be ordered to advance in the first line. If I am a false prophet I shall be shot dead at the first discharge. But if I am a true prophet I shall only receive a musket-ball in the calf of my left leg.' At 12 the next day there was such thunder and lightning as they never had before in Flanders. On the third day, contrary to all expectation, was the general battle of Fontenoy. He was ordered to advance in the first line, and at the very first discharge he received a musket-ball in the calf of his left leg."

To which account by Haime, Mr. Wesley adds:—

"And yet all this profited him nothing, either for temporal or eternal happiness. When the war was over he returned to England; but the story was got before him: in consequence of which he was sent for by the Countess of St—s, and several other persons of quality, who were desirous to receive so surprising an account from his own mouth. He could not bear so much honour. It quite turned his brain. In a little time he ran stark mad. And so he continues to this day, being still as I apprehend on Wilsey Moorside, within a few miles of Leeds."

X. Spontaneous Sympathy—distant influence of thought.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOIST.

SIR,—I send you the following extract, in case you should consider it of any interest, as containing what appears to be a case of *spontaneous rapport*. It is a note from the life of *Dr. Adam Clarke*.*

ALFRED ROPPE.

48, Ossulston Street, Somers Town.

"A most singular circumstance occurred a short time before Mr. Tracy Clarke's death: (Mr. T. C. was a surgeon, and elder brother to Dr. Adam Clarke.) He had gone to the Isle of Man for the benefit of his health, having with him

* Second Edition, p. 4: published by Longman and Co.

one of his sons. During the night which had preceded his return to England, he dreamed that he had been to see Mrs. Clarke, and that, contrary to custom, she was sleeping in the best bed room; and, as they walked to the place of embarkation, he communicated this dream to his son. On arriving at Liverpool, Mr. T. C. was prevailed upon to pass a night at his brother's house, while his son went forward to Maghull, to announce their safe arrival to his mother. When she saw him coming without his father, she fell into a paroxysm of grief, and could not without great difficulty be persuaded of her husband's safety. The cause of these misgivings was not a little remarkable. During the same night in which Mr. C. had dreamed his dream, she fancied she heard him ride up to the stable, bring his saddle and bridle into the house, and hang them up as usual. She then heard him ascend the stairs, enter the room in which she lay, which was indeed the best bed room, and walk round the bed. All this she assured her younger son, on rising in the morning, she had heard distinctly, affirming that she could not be deceived in thinking the footsteps those of his father, and expressing her fears that some misfortune had befallen him."

. The wife's brain accidentally dreamed, and influenced the husband's—*Zoist*.

XI. *Great relief from Mesmerism during ordinary treatment in an affection of the Prostate Gland.* By Mr. HENRY JACOB, 35, Surrey Street, Strand.

MR. J. Jones, of 129, Strand, my uncle, an *aged man*, 70 years of age, had been five weeks suffering so much from disease of the prostate gland that he had no sleep, and was in the most excruciating agony, although the strongest opiates were administered. He was attended by Mr. Fergusson, of King's College. A lady, to whom I mentioned the case, urged me to try mesmerism. But as I had no idea of what it was, she advised me to apply to Dr. Elliotson for instructions. He at once told me to make slow passes with one hand from opposite the forehead downwards. I immediately put his instructions in practice on Saturday evening, Dec. 5, 1846; for Mr. Jones eagerly accepted of my offer to mesmerise him. Although when I commenced *he was in great pain, in about five minutes he fell into a sound sleep*, and snored, but was apparently disturbed by any slight noise. He slept from* twenty-five minutes to 11 until five minutes past 12—an hour and a half. He then awoke, took food, relieved his bladder, and was in good spirits and much refreshed. At eighteen minutes past one I passed my hands again, and in

the course of four minutes he fell into a sound sleep, and snored, until a quarter-past two o'clock—fifty-three minutes. He again took refreshment, emptied his bladder without the aid of instruments, and at two and a half minutes past three I passed my hands again, and in three and a half minutes he fell into a sound sleep for two hours and twenty minutes—sleeping altogether nearly five hours. He stated that he felt considerably refreshed, did not seem to require so much nourishment, and, much to his delight, continued to pass his water freely and in a stream without pain.

Mr. Fergusson called to see him in the morning, and said, "Well, Mr. Jacobs, you have done more for him than I could;" and was very much pleased, and desired me to say to Dr. Elliotson that he was very satisfied with the effects of the sleep, and requested me to repeat the mesmerism again on the following night. An opiate was given to Mr. Jones on Friday night, (the night before I first mesmerised him,) but without effect. *He had not had so much rest in any one day or night before for five weeks.*

I must not forget to add, that it was done without the least effort or fatigue to myself; and perhaps the effect may be considered the more curious, as it was necessary for a candle to be held full glare in the face of the patient while lying in bed, so that we could see each other's eyes.

In the morning, Mr. J. Jones expressed himself so wonderfully better, and that there seemed to be a new era in his existence.

On Sunday, Dec. 6th, I attempted again to put him at his request to sleep: but he did not continue to slumber long, and I left him about half-past two in the day asking for his dinner.

In the evening I passed my hand again, and in ten minutes he again fell asleep, but remained only ten minutes in that state. He did not sleep all night, but at seven o'clock in the morning he fell into a natural sleep for two hours, relieved his bladder, as he stated, beautifully, and seemed to all in the house, and really was, considerably improved in health.

Monday night, Dec. 7. Commenced passing at a quarter to 11; in eight minutes afterwards he was in a sound sleep. I placed my hands once or twice, extended, on his forehead: I then left. He slept till ten minutes past 12, awoke, relieved his bladder copiously, and took refreshment. The son of the patient tried to mesmerise him, and succeeded; but he slept for ten minutes only. He afterwards fell into a sound sleep from a quarter past two until a quarter before four o'clock;

shortly after that had several refreshing sleeps. I saw him at nine o'clock, when he told me he felt very comfortable, and, in his own words, "50 per cent. better." He states that he is confirmed in the idea that mesmerism has had a very beneficial effect on him in producing sleep.

Tuesday, Dec. 8. Mr. Jones continued improving, his complaint hardly troubling him. No sleep all day; thought that he could not get any sleep if I did not mesmerise him. He ate very heartily, and took two glasses of sherry with the consent of Mr. Fergusson. Mesmerised the patient again at eleven minutes past 11, and in about eight minutes afterwards he fell into a sound sleep, and slept one hour. I had left him previously; on my return in the morning I heard that he had passed a restless night, not any sleep, and expressed a wish that I should be sent for to mesmerise him. I called on him at nine in the morning, and found him in a slumber, which continued only for a few minutes.

Wednesday, Dec. 9. Mesmerised again at ten minutes past 10, morning, and he fell asleep again at half-past 10, but only for a few moments. I was compelled to leave him all day, during which time he slept but only in short interrupted slumbers, expressing a most urgent desire that I should remain with him all night; his complaint had entirely left him, and he passed his water better than he had done for years previously. After partaking of oysters, &c., at half-past 12 this night, he got into his bed. (Mr. Jones was so certain of its power that he stated words can hardly convey his feelings of gratitude to Dr. Elliotson, and that he would write him a letter of thanks on his recovery.) I mesmerised him at fourteen minutes to one, Thursday morning, Dec. 10, and in ten minutes he slept until half-past two. He awoke, took his refreshment; he was mesmerised again at ten minutes past three, and slept until twenty minutes past four. He then awoke very refreshed, laughed, and was extremely jocose when I left him about a quarter to five to go to bed. I arose at nine, and found by his nurse that he had slept (without mesmerism) from half-past five to half-past seven—two hours, much refreshed and comfortable, and in excellent spirits. He observed that although he had not actually slept so long a time this night as he did on the first night I remained with him, still he felt more refreshed and invigorated. Previously to going to bed this night he placed his feet in hot water by the advice of Mr. Fergusson in the idea that it would allay his fever, the whole of the skin from his hand peeling off.

Thursday night, Dec. 11. All day comparatively well and improving, enjoying his food. Mesmerised him for twenty-

five minutes, but he only slept one hour all night after, until about five, when he slept for about two hours. I find that unless I remain with him all night he gets very little sleep. I also notice that he sleeps sounder during the continuance of the passing of the hands. I find no difficulty in getting him sleep when I am with him and he once makes up his mind to it. I have never once failed, although frequently the sleeps are not of any duration.

Friday night, Dec. 12. By appointment at 10, patient ready in bed waiting for me. At five minutes past 10 in a sound sleep. Mesmerised in less than four minutes. Remained asleep a very short time (I having left the house). Slept from one, midnight, for about an hour and a half. Remained awake for an hour, and then slept for about an hour and a half. I saw him again this (Saturday) morning, Dec. 12, about 12, and mesmerised him again for about twenty minutes. Patient states he feels a soothing sensation when his eyes are closed, although not asleep, if my hands are passing to and fro. Mr. Fergusson says he is wonderfully better. The patient finds the sleep very refreshing that succeeds the mesmeric sleep (that is to say, the natural rest).

Mr. Jones not inclined to be mesmerised early this night in consequence of being refreshed by sleep during the day, I left him at 11 o'clock, he having made up his mind to remain sitting in his chair until inclined for sleep without me.

Sunday, Dec. 13. Mr. Jones having passed so comfortable a night, and having slept without my assistance the previous night, declined to be mesmerised for the present. In the course of the day I saw the surgeon, Mr. Fergusson, who complimented me upon my success, assuring me that the sleep had been most beneficial and conducive to the recovery of Mr. Jones.

Sunday night. Slept for the first time without any nurse or person remaining up with him.

Monday morning. Saw Mr. Jones. Passed a delightful night, accompanied by pleasant dreams, as was the case generally when mesmerised. Grateful to Dr. Elliotson for his humanity and for his benevolence to him in instructing me on the means of affording him such wonderful relief.

Mr. Jones has never had an attack since, and is now in excellent health, walking six or seven miles a day.

XII. *Advantage of Mesmerism while ordinary treatment is adopted.* By Mr. ARMOUR. Communicated by Dr. Elliotson.

113, Wardour Street.

To Dr. Elliotson.

Sir,—You will perhaps remember that, on the day I gave you the particulars of my brother's complaint, (whose death I communicated to you,) I incidentally mentioned that I had begun to mesmerise my sister, who was lying ill of nervous fever: and as your advice encouraged me to persevere with mesmerism, I think you will excuse me if I relate to you the effects produced; more especially as the medical man who had attended her was so much astonished at the result of the first mesmerisation, as to call upon you the next day.

On the 17th of September my youngest sister, a girl 18 years of age, of lively and engaging manners, dark complexion, and endowed with good moral and intellectual qualities, was taken ill from cold, which was thought to be occasioned by getting her feet wet a day or two previously. She had had some mental excitement a few weeks before. She felt worse the next day, and medical assistance was procured; the surgeon who had for some time attended the family was called, and pronounced her to be in strong nervous fever. She continued getting worse every hour, the treatment adopted did no good, and in three days she became delirious, constantly plucking at the bed-clothes, and screaming and talking so distressingly as to be painful to those attending upon her. She could obtain no sleep, no relief from her sufferings. Her head was shorn of all the back hair, she was leeches on the temples, and narcotics given to produce sleep; but all availed nothing. She continued in this state till the 28th September, a period of ten days, during the whole of which time she had not slept six hours. The medical man had done all for her he could; he told us that he had given her medicines for days *as strong as he dared administer them*: but not the slightest inclination to sleep or to remain quiet was manifested.

My parents were distressed at her condition, and they decided that I should attempt to mesmerise her, in the hope of obtaining sleep and quietude. Accordingly, on the 28th, I commenced making downward passes at half past one p.m., and in forty minutes I had the pleasure of sending her into a sound sleep, which lasted till half-past six, p.m.; and she awoke less delirious, and somewhat refreshed. Mesmerism thus accomplished what narcotic medicines had failed in doing, although taken for days. We were all astonished at the result.

The medical attendant was amazed ; he could scarcely believe the fact, and he candidly acknowledged that mesmerism had effected in forty minutes what a continuance of medicine could not effect. My parents felt dissatisfied with the treatment of this medical man, and they determined upon consulting Dr. Epps, and that gentleman saw my sister while she was in the first mesmeric sleep. He made no objection to my mesmerising her ; and it was agreed that I should continue to mesmerise her, and he would prescribe for her. I mesmerised her again that evening, at eight o'clock, and she went to sleep in forty minutes, and slept till one a.m. of the 29th. She said when she awoke from this sleep that she felt very languid and sleepy ; and she was much less delirious. I continued sending her to sleep twice every day for ten days, each time taking less than the former, till at length she became so susceptible of the influence, that by my merely standing at the foot of the bed she would fall into a profound sleep, which lasted for hours. The mesmeric sleeps invariably created a desire for natural sleep ; but a great difference was observable in the two kinds of sleep ; the mesmeric being characterized by quietude and refreshment, the natural being generally noisy and disturbed.

She appeared to be recovering fast ; Dr. Epps gave us every hope of a speedy cure : all the fever had left her ; and her long sleeps greatly comforted her. But on the tenth day of Dr. Epps's attendance and of my mesmerising her, she complained of pain at the bottom of the back, and it was found a large wound or ulcer was forming there. This gradually increased in size, and, as it got larger, all the old symptoms returned, she becoming horridly delirious. As she got worse, mesmerism had no effect upon her : I certainly got her to sleep, but the violence of her suffering awoke her directly. She would be two days without knowing any one, all the while giving utterance to heart-rending screams and cries of pain ; and she would at times yell so frantically as to frighten all about her. She lingered till the 20th of October ; and though we all felt severely a second death in our family within the space of four weeks, yet we could not but feel relieved when she was released from the agonizing suffering caused by the frightful ulcer.

I did hope, at the commencement of mesmerising her, that I should have an interesting case of cure to communicate to you, and I took notes for that purpose. But I cannot but persuade myself that, as far as mesmerism is concerned, it shews the vast superiority of mesmeric means to those ordinarily employed for producing sleep in such distressing dis-

eases as my sister's. As far as mesmerism went, it did much good, producing calm, quiet sleep, and a feeling of refreshment afterwards; and this, after narcotics had been given, as the medical man declared to me, as strong as he dared to give them. And if mesmerism does this only, if it merely enables the poor sufferer to obtain a slight relief in sleep from the agony of pain, how much should it be prized by medical men! They try everything but mesmerism, as if the very thought of it was degrading to their fine sensibilities; and yet, if asked why they treat the subject with indifference, they will either evade the question, treat it with abuse, or else, like the surgeon who attended my sister, they will tell you that they do not understand it,—that the tide of public opinion is against it, and that their practice is their *bread and cheese*.

You will, I hope, pardon this intrusion on your time, but I felt it my duty to send these particulars to you, as I have great reason to be grateful for your kindness to me; and, if the above is any evidence of the truth of mesmerism, it will not be the less esteemed by you, even though communicated by a working man, who has no opportunity to mesmerise but after the day's work is over.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
ANDREW D. ARMOUR.

*** This patient died from want of attention to her back, which should have been inspected daily, as in all cases of fever.—*Zoist*.

XIII. *Mesmerism in Africa, forty years ago.*

By Captain BAGNOLD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOIST.

Saxmundham, Sept. 28, 1848.

DEAR SIR,—To the European facts recorded in *The Zoist*, my brother* has sent some Asiatic ones. Allow me to offer you an account of what I witnessed at Goree, a small island close to Cape Verd, on the west coast of Africa, in 1806. A native, who occasionally visited the island in his canoe from the mainland, was generally reported to be a fetish man, or magician, having the power "to kill somebody, and give him life again." This was so clearly asserted both by the inhabitants and the officers of the garrison, that I sought an opportunity of wit-

* No. XXII.

nessing his performance, which was as follows: seating himself on the ground, with his knees drawn up to his chin, the patient's head resting against them, he applied his fingers on each side of the neck under the ears, and in the course of a few minutes the subject was in a profound state of coma. When called upon to restore him, he did so by pressing two or three times firmly on the sternum. So much for mesmerism in Africa 40 years since.

My brother, at my desire, referred you to a curious account given in Captain Carver's travels in America, 1777. As you may have difficulty in finding the work at the present day, I will give you the leading facts from memory—*perfect* in all points but that of exact locality. The Captain travelling in company with a party of Indians on one of the lakes, by the wreck of their canoes in a storm found themselves (if I recollect right) on an island; their provision all but exhausted, without hope of escape or assistance. After suffering severe privations for many days, it was proposed by the tribe that their priest should consult the great Spirit. A number of stakes were firmly driven into the ground, forming an inclosure of about six feet by three, and wattled with twigs into a kind of rude basket, having the earth for its bottom. The priest, after undergoing various ceremonies, was wrapped closely in deer-skins, and bound round in all directions with thongs of the same; by which all his limbs were closely confined, giving him the appearance of a mummy: this done, he was laid on his back in the enclosure, and the whole carefully covered from sight by buffalo hides—the spectators retiring a few paces. A low and slow moaning was soon heard within the enclosure, which gradually encreased both in tone and quickness, and soon terminated in violent shouts and struggles. The covering being removed, the man was discovered with his limbs at perfect liberty, his whole frame bathed in profuse perspiration, and his countenance strongly marked by a peculiar wildness. His recovery was immediate; when he announced that he had seen the great Spirit, who had informed him that on the morrow, at noon, some canoes should appear rounding a point of land then in sight, and would be the means of their deliverance. The narrative proceeds, that on the next day at noon all eyes were anxiously fixed on the point in question, and, strange to say, the prophecy of the priest was fulfilled to the letter. Carver was then travelling to choose a site for his future settlement. He gives in his book an animating description of the spot he selected near the falls of St. Anthony, and it is to this day, I believe, known as Carver's Grant. This land was on sale in England 25 years ago, and

it was the agent for the sale who lent me the volumes from which I give you the foregoing, as the perfectly true essence of the tale.

If this letter should be deemed of any service to the cause of truth, make what use of it you please, and believe me,

Yours, very faithfully,
M. BAGNOLD.

P.S. Your readers may be interested in reading *Carver's Travels in North America*, for an account of some Indians consulting the great Spirit.

XIV. *On the boundaries of the Cerebral Organs.*

SIR,—It must occur to a person on his very first acquaintance with phrenology, that there is a great deal of obscurity and difference of opinion with regard to the boundaries of the various organs of the brain. Some think that each organ has a constant individual form in the head: (which indeed seems partly correct, since the organs correspond in their form with the shape of the head, where they are situated; thus in the forehead, the organs are for the most part round; at the side, they are longer and rounded off, &c.; and spherical in the back of the head :) others think that the shape is indefinite, and that they are dovetailed into one another: and some, on the other hand, maintain that there is an intermediate portion of the brain between each organ. But it has often been urged against these opinions, that, if they do dovetail in, how do we know the correct form of the joints? and, if they do not, what becomes of the intermediate portion of the brain?

Now it will probably to most appear very bold to advance any new theory, but I cannot help thinking, that, if we consider the brain to be of three classes of function, the intellectual, moral, and animal, of which parts there are no minor divisions, but in them certain nuclei corresponding in their functions with the acknowledged phrenological organs; and, as is often the case, when a part of the brain between any of these nuclei is developed, that it exhibits a function partaking of the combined nature of those between which it is situated; it will do away with many of the seeming inconsistencies in phrenology. From analogy this would seem to be borne out. Let us observe the rainbow; in it there are several acknowledged primary colours, yet who can define the boundary of any colour? but between each of two primary colours we find a third partaking of the nature of the two; thus green, between blue and yellow. Again in music, no

ear can tell the line that separates two notes; they melt away as it were by imperceptible gradations into one another.

Before Mr. Prideaux had advanced his reasons for entertaining the existence of an organ of Sympathy, I had observed this part of the brain large when Benevolence and Comparison were deficient. Now sympathy clearly partakes of the nature of these two; yet, according to the present rules, how could a person manifest sympathy with deficient Benevolence? Again, between Caution and Secretiveness I have *very often* observed a development, when the former have been deficient, which I consider to manifest the function of Suspicion. Now, with Benevolence and Conscientiousness large, Caution and Secretiveness small, how should a person be suspicious, according to the existing rules? Again, between Time and Order: and how many persons there are who manifest their order merely in keeping appointments and in punctuality. Cases might be multiplied, but the few I have advanced will serve to explain the theory; and if these few remarks should deserve a notice, it would gratify

Your's obediently,

July 7th, 1849.

M.

XV. *Postscript to Dr. Elliotson's Paper (Article III.) and to his Note to the Mottos prefixed by him to Article VI.*

WHEN I spoke of the deaths from chloroform being, to my knowledge, far more numerous than the public imagine, and especially when administered in parturition, I had no doubt that this was the case in Scotland as well as in England. Since my paper was struck off, the following communication has appeared in the *Medical Gazette* of Dec. 22:—

“*Obstetric practice in Edinburgh.—The use of Chloroform.*

“Sir,—On reading in a late number of your journal, the able and interesting lecture of Dr. Barnes, ‘on the rational and safe conduct of labour,’ I was struck with the fact of the gradually increasing mortality from childbirth in Edinburgh during the years 1847 and 1848, having been exactly coincident with the introduction of chloroform and its extensive use in midwifery in that city. From Dr. Barnes’s table it appears that in 1846 the proportion of deaths in childbirth in Edinburgh was 1 in 116; in 1847 it had increased to 1 in 97; while in 1848 it had risen to 1 in 91. The *Record* newspaper, a few weeks since, in *leading article type*, brings forward some strong reasons ‘to quicken medical men in other parts of the world as to the benefits of chloroform in midwifery,’

the chief of which is, that a few ladies with high sounding titles await in Edinburgh their approaching accouchement, drawn thither by the fame of chloroform, and it may be by such puffing paragraphs as that which makes mention of these things. We need have no fear, however, with such statistics as those of Dr. Barnes before us, that our professional brethren will be turned from the performance of the duties of their high office by any such considerations, even if they could look for the most abounding newspaper laudation as a reward. The following is extracted from the *Record* of Nov. 12 :—

“CHLOROFORM.—It is generally known that no considerable opposition to the use of this specific for pain under surgical operations and in female accouchements, is offered in the metropolis, and in many parts of England, as well as in France. In the Scottish metropolis, on the other hand, no such scruples exist. It is freely used on all occasions. . . . The effect of this difference of perception among the medical men of the two capitals, is operating in a way which we presume the opponents of chloroform did not anticipate, but which we think the most natural in the world. In a letter which we have seen from Edinburgh, it is said, ‘Professor Simpson’s share in its introduction is operating favourably on his own position and on that of this city. The Duchess of Argyle and Lady Blantyre are both expecting their confinement ere long, and with their mother, the Duchess of Sutherland, have taken large mansions in the town or neighbourhood. Besides these, there are others, titled and not titled, who have done the same; so that Edinburgh will be the gainer. ‘Its great utility,’ continues the writer, ‘is, in this part of the world, considered altogether established.’ Such facts as these will probably quicken the perceptions of medical men in other parts of the world as to the benefit of its use. Every improvement of the kind has to encounter great opposition. No medical man who had attained the age of forty years at the time of Harvey’s discovery of the circulation of the blood, ever believed the fact.’

“I am, Sir, your’s obediently,
“A. B. C.”

In my note to the motto of Article VI., I repelled Dr. Maitland’s accusation that we found philosophy on man,—that is, upon human speculations, as though philosophy could be founded on anything but observation of nature. His readers would suppose that he had seen in *The Zoist* an exhortation to found philosophy on man. His words are, p. 48,

"But among the advocates and practitioners of mesmerism, there are many who adopt the Bible, and are not willing to see all religious belief swept away to make room for something contradistinguished as a true philosophy, and founded on man instead of God."

The passage in *The Zoist* to which he refers for this misrepresentation, has no such words; it says, "founded on the *physiology* of man," i.e., upon the handywork of Dr. Maitland's Creator. The physiology of man can mean only the laws of human nature; and moral philosophy ought to be so founded.

But this is not the whole of Dr. Maitland's misrepresentation. He quotes this and a similar passage simply from *The Zoist*, leading his readers to suppose that they were the words of the editors: whereas they are no such thing. They are the words of a gentleman, named Atkinson, who was never in any way connected with *The Zoist*, and bear his signature: and they do not occur in any communication sent by him to *The Zoist*, but in a paper read before the Phrenological Society, whose proceedings *The Zoist* regularly recorded, just as the *Athenæum* records the proceedings of various societies; and *The Zoist*, whether it agrees or not with Mr. Atkinson, has no more to do with these statements than the *Athenæum* with the various statements which occur in the papers read before the societies whose proceedings it records.

These two instances of misrepresentation agree very badly with his parade of his religious belief. All is anise and cummin, and neglect of the weightier matters of the law: and his conduct is calculated to injure true Christianity more than all the dogmatic and formulary religion, which signalizes the present day as strongly as it did the time of Christ, can do good.

I may mention, in reference to p. 381, that I have just received a note from Colonel Davidson, including one from Dr. Sharkey, written in Ireland, declaring that he forgets all about the second case; and giving no particulars respecting the first.

Colonel Davidson has discovered the young man, who is twenty years old and apprenticed to a butcher, was at the *National Schools, where mesmerism is forbidden*, but mesmerised by a French doctor five years ago, to whom he had applied for "doctor's stuff," because he had fits. "Then," asked Colonel Davidson, "you had the fits before you went to the doctor's for stuff?" "Yes, Sir." The boy has a sister affected also with epilepsy, who never has been mes-

merised, and who, this Dr. Sharkey declared to the family, had become epileptic on seeing her brother in a fit. "And how soon afterwards did her epilepsy begin?" asked the Colonel. "Two years afterwards, Sir."

This is a sad business as regards Dr. Sharkey and the editor of the *Gazette*, and proves how eagerly assertions are made against mesmerism without any ground. Without the slightest reason hundreds of medical men are now telling patients that mesmerism causes, perhaps at the distance of years, insanity, fits, &c., &c. And the editor of the *Medical Gazette* declares that no one reads *The Zoist* but the impostors who publish their cases in it.*

* No. X., p. 201.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Illustrations and Enquiries relating to Mesmerism, Part I., by the Rev. S. R. Maitland, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., some time Librarian to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth. London: William Stephenson. Emanuel Swedenborg. A Biography. By James John Garth Wilkinson.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Editors much regret that though they have given a sheet and a half extra they have been obliged to postpone till April the papers obligingly sent by Mr. Davey, Dr. Engledue, Mr. Elliot, Lieut. Hare, Mr. Harley, Mr. Hazard, Mr. Holland, Mr. Sanders, Dr. Storer, Mr. H. S. Thompson, Mr. Tubbs, and some other correspondents.

ERRATA.

In No. XXVI., p. 117, l. 21, for "Mr. C.," read "Mrs. C."
l. 30, for "Dec.," read "Nov."
In No. XXVIII., p. 308, for "Dr. Hall," read "Dr. Hull."

END OF VOL. VII.